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US IMMIGRATION — A LUMBERING GIANT

Edward Kreuser

PROPORTIONAL MISREPRESENTATION

Peter Hain

THE 1988 OLYMPICS: COUNTDOWN IN A TROUBLED SOUTH KOREA

Jeffrey Gray and Laurie Warren

CINEMA: A QUARTERLY REVIEW

David Shipman

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US IMMIGRATION—A LUMBERING GIANT

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by Edward Kreuser

DESPITE the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, immigration policy has often been a divisive issue cutting across political party, regional and economic lines The Immigration Reform and Control Act, passed during the final days of the 1985-86 Congress, failed to gain approval during the two previous Congresses (1981-82 and 1983-84) for lack of a consensus on how immigration policy should be changed Views ranged from those who want reduced immigration flows, such as proponents of zero population growth, to those who believe that market forces should largely determine immigrant flows with less, rather than more, government control The *Wall Street Journal,* for example, opposed the Immigration Reform and Control Act to the end Also mixed in were special interests, often conflicting, such as large agriculture growers, labour unions, ethnic groups and civil libertarians.

While immigrants have been welcomed through most of America's history, there have been outbreaks of nativism and anti-alien prejudice ranging from 'Irish need not apply' job signs in the last century to the approval of English as the official state language by Californian voters last November. Economic conditions and job competition play a large role in how native-born Americans view immigrants. In an expanding economy, there is little resentment against new arrivals However, when there is strong competition for jobs, particularly at the lower end of the economic scale, resentment can be strong An example is Miami, a city revitalized largely through successive waves of Cuban migrants As the city has become more Hispanic, there has been strong resentment by American-born residents which has resulted in occasional violence along ethnic or racial lines during the past decade.

In a broad sense, there are three different streams of migrants to the United States — legal immigrants, refugees and illegal immigrants, the latter dubbed 'undocumented workers' during the Carter Administration Legal immigration and the admission of refugees are controlled by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, which was divisive in its time and which was passed by Congress over President Truman's veto That act, with a number of amendments since 1952, the last being the Immigration Reform and Control Act, classifies immigrants as either immediate relatives or preference immigrants Immediate relatives are the spouses, unmarried minor (under age 21) children, orphans adopted or to be adopted, or parents of American citizens. There are no numerical limitations on immediate relatives and the annual intake, which has increased considerably during the past several years, currently is in the 220,000 range

There is an annual limitation on preference immigrants of 270,000, with not more than 20,000 from any independent country or 5,000 from any colony Origin is determined by place of birth rather than nationality Within the preference classification, there are six categories, four of which are for relatives and two of which are based on employment There is also a nonpreference category, which gets any of the 270,000 numbers not used by the six preference categories There have been no numbers available for the non-preference category since 1978 and that situation is unlikely to change

Demand for preference immigrant visas far exceeds the available 270,000 annual numerical limitation At the present time, there are approximately two million persons worldwide registered at different US embassies and consulates for preference immigrant visas, all based on petitions filed by relatives or prospective employers The list grows larger each year since, under the US system, immigration begets more immigration

The basic principle of US immigration policy is family reunification All immediate relative immigration is based on that principle, and 80% of the 270,000 annual preference immigrant visa numbers is for the same purpose While theoretically at some point most families should be reunited, the US system works like a snowball rolling down a hill becoming larger and larger For example, an American citizen marries an alien and successfully petitions for that person's immigration as an immediate relative After three years of residence in the US as an immigrant, the alien spouse can become a naturalized US citizen and in turn file immigrant petitions on behalf of parents, brothers and sisters Some of the latter may be married Those spouses, after arrival as immigrants and subsequent naturalization as a US citizen (five years of residence for those not married to American citizens), can file petitions for their parents, brothers and sisters and any children, married or unmarried, who did not emigrate earlier

As this illustrates, the days are long gone when a person without ties to the US could register for immigration, find a sponsor and sail for

America The key to immigration to the US is having a close relative who is a US citizen or permanent resident alien While it is possible to immigrate based on employment, it requires finding a prospective employer willing to have a labour certification approved by the Department of Labour, then a petition approved by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and then wait many months or even years until an immigrant visa number becomes available The 270,000 annual limitation is fixed and can be neither increased nor decreased without a change of law While this annual limit cannot be raised to accommodate annual demand, it is not lowered due to economic or other conditions The system marches on mechanically and predictably, producing the same number of immigrants each year Over the years, and as a result of amendments of the law in 1965 and 1976, the pattern of immigration has been changed from a predominant intake from Europe and Canada to Asia, Mexico and the Caribbean Major immigration countries for the US currently are the Philippines, Korea, China, India, Mexico and the Dominican Republic

Refugee admissions are based on the Refugee Act of 1980, which amended the Immigration and Nationality Act Prior to 1980, refugees largely were admitted under a series of programmes or special laws responding to particular world events such as Hungary in 1956, Cuba since 1959 and Vietnam since 1975 The Refugee Act incorporated the UN Convention and Protocol definition of a refugee. Refugee admission numbers are determined annually based on consultations between the Administration and Congress The FY1987 refugee ceiling is 70,000 US policy towards refugees is first, whenever possible, support their voluntary return to their homeland Second, contribute to finding lasting solutions to refugee populations within the country or region of first asylum, and as a final measure, support permanent resettlement in other countries, the US being one option. All refugees for whom the third durable solution is appropriate must be individually interviewed by an officer of the Immigration and Naturalization Service aplying the refugee definition in the Act

Adding the numbers of immediate relative and preference immigrants to the annual refugee intake provides a figure of approximately 560,000 persons admitted to the US annually as immigrants or refugees This regulated inflow is only half the picture, however, since the US has a third stream of migrants — illegal immigrants There are no firm figures on how many illegal immigrants reside in the US or how many arrive each year to reside without authorization Estimates of the illegal population range between two and twelve million, with six million the most often used figure New arrivals are just as difficult to estimate accurately. During the past two years, Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) apprehensions have ranged between 1 and 1.8 million annually No one really knows how many aliens successfully evade the INS and become illegal immigrants for the long haul A reasonable estimate is half a million annually If this estimate is accurate, it means that the US has

an annual intake of one million new migrants — legal immigrants, refugees and illegal immigrants

There are a number of push-pull factors involved in illegal immigration. Pushing illegal immigrants towards the US (and other industrialized countries) are soaring birth rates, depressed or deteriorating national economies and local political turmoil Pull factors include the hitherto easy availability of unskilled employment and thinly patrolled US borders. One of the goals of the Immigration Reform and Control Act is to weaken these pull factors The new Act provides substantial resource increase for the INS Border Patrol and, for the first time, makes it illegal for an employer to 'knowingly' hire, recruit or refer for a fee an 'unauthorized alien'. While these two measures will help stem the tide of unauthorized alien entry into the US, they will not stop it. The US border with Mexico and Canada, as well as the Florida coast, is simply too long to patrol effectively. Time will be necessary to test the effectiveness of employer sanctions, but similar experience in Canada is not encouraging The applicable Canadian law also contains the concept of 'knowingly', which is often difficult for prosecutors to prove

Another major provision of the new Act provides for the legalization (legal resident status) of illegal immigrants who have resided in the US since before January 1, 1982 The provision solves the problem of what the US should do with its millions of unauthorized alien residents and was viewed by many as a necessary accompaniment to employer sanctions. The legalization will start by mid-1987 and will last for twelve months. A separate part of the Act permits a total of 350,000 foreign agricultural workers to obtain permanent resident status after one year, with additional unlimited numbers after two years Those who apply must demonstrate that they have worked at least 90 days in seasonal agriculture from one to three years prior to May 1, 1986 A skeptic might wonder if pea pickers will remain in pea patches after being granted legal resident status or if they will not move to better paying employment in urban areas The Act provides for replenishment workers for an additional four years, if needed, offering those new workers legal permanent residence after three years of seasonal agricultural work; it also establishes a Commission on Agricultural Workers to review and evaluate the overall seasonal agricultural worker programme and to report to Congress within five years with recommendations for appropriate changes

The emphasis in the Immigration Reform and Control Act is on control rather than reform It has, however, added a new stream of immigration to the first two — immediate relative and preference immigration and refugees — mentioned earlier, that is, agricultural workers. Time will be necessary to determine how much impact it has on the third stream — illegal immigration Most probably it will slow down the tide of illegal immigration, but not stop it. While the pull factors have been diminished, the push factors remain in place and, if anything, will become stronger in the near future

The movement of people from one place of residence to a new but

unauthorized place of residence is not unique to the US. It is a phenomenon increasingly shared by all industrial societies. Even the island nation of Japan with a largely homogeneous population, and excellent alien controls is beginning to experience a problem with illegal alien workers The movement of people for economic, religious or political self-betterment is as old as human history Improvements in communications and transportation in this century have facilitated it

Among the industrialized nations, the US probably is the least able to halt illegal immigration Aside from its history of welcoming immigration, borders difficult to control and neighbouring countries with population growth outstripping economic development, there are no real internal controls. Local and state police forces have not historically looked upon the enforcement of immigration laws as a high priority goal. When the notion of a national identity card surfaced during one of the earlier versions of what became the Immigration Reform and Control Act, the White House let it be known that any requirement for a national identity card would lead to a veto of the whole bill It was dropped, and if resurrected again in the future, would again be controversial.

If large numbers of illegal migrants to the US continue, it may not necessarily have a negative impact In common with other industrialized nations, the US in the years ahead will have a larger aged population with a proportionally shrinking native-born work force to support it. Since federal tax and Social Security payments are automatically deducted from the salaries of illegal as well as legal workers, new migrants will provide economic benefits to other sectors of the US population. Remittances overseas to family members left behind play an important role in the economics of some countries, particularly in rural areas.

Aside from having an economic influence, continued large migration to the US, particularly if it continues from Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean and Asia, will change the social fabric of the US By the turn of the century, the Hispanic community will be by far the largest minority group in the US with increasing domestic political power The influence of Asian groups will also continue to grow These factors will necessarily impact on the traditional close ties between the US and Europe The Atlantic Ocean may start to become wider as the non-European stock in the US population exercises its legitimate political influence to move the US closer to Latin, Caribbean and Asian countries.

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SUDAN'S NEW DEMOCRACY

by Peter Woodward

THERE are few liberal democracies in the Middle East and Africa, but from time to time the attempt to move at least some way in that direction recurs Egypt in the 1970s tried to return to a somewhat 'guided' version, but then Egypt has only ever achieved a limited form of democracy, while at the start of this decade Nigeria and Ghana both endeavoured unsuccessfully to reintroduce a more fully fledged version. For the past year Sudan, with a foot in both regions, has endeavoured to establish liberal democracy for the third time In view of the problems encountered by others, including all three of the examples mentioned, the task is clearly difficult, and while Sudan has achieved much in this direction since the overthrow of Gaffar Numeiri (the military ruler who governed from 1969 to 1985) there are still question marks over the ability of the country to maintain the new form of government.

The manner of Sudan's return to democracy reveals both the strengths and weaknesses of the country from the standpoint of maintaining this form of government The strength lies in the wish of the Sudanese ultimately to make their rulers accountable to them there is no natural political hierarchy for the country as a whole to repress participation and no readiness to behave deferentially to those in authority, unlike their Egyptian cousins to the north There is too a sense of fair play and a degree of tolerance, and many were shocked by the repressive implementation of Islamic law in 1983 Conflict has also been ended by agreement Sudan is one of the few countries to settle a civil war by direct negotiation between the parties, when south and north agreed at Addis Ababa in 1972 There is an ability on occasions to unite and take concerted political action against those judged oppressive The way in which popular demonstrations twice resulted in the overthrow of military regimes is an impressive achievement, not only for the people but for the soldiers too who in the last resort chose to side with the people rather than to shoot them In October 1964 it was massive demonstrations and strikes which brought down the first military ruler, General Abboud; and in April 1985 comparable marches forced Numeiri's generals to oust him

A spirit of compromise was also shown in the arrangements worked out by those same generals, led by Siwar al-Dhahab, and the professionals who led Numeiri's opponents in establishing a transitional step towards liberal democracy There was much speculation, both in Sudan and outside, that the transitional period of one year during which Sudan was ruled jointly by a Transitional Military Council (TMC) and a cabinet of civilian ministers under Prime Minister Ghazouli Dafallah would fail, but in the event it went largely as planned. True, there were difficulties in prising power away from the soldiers, but in the end between them the two bodies governed reasonably smoothly, if on a rather caretaker basis which did relatively little for Sudan's immediate problems Perhaps this was the

greatest failure, especially in the south With the professionals in the lead, there were attempts to negotiate with the Sudan Peoples Army (SPLA) which since 1983 had been fighting a civil war once more in the southern Sudan; but SPLA leader John Garang was suspicious of the TMC believing that too much of the old regime against which the SPLA had taken up arms survived, and this was to be a major stumbling block in the way of a successful outcome to the protracted talks.

The SPLA had come into existence largely as a result of the outrageous behaviour of Numeiri towards the south, but the aim of the SPLA was not a new deal for that region alone, but a recasting of Sudan's whole political system to seek to redress not only the injustices in the south but the weaknesses of both past military and civilian systems of government. In the end the danger may be that in returning to liberal democracy Sudan has also returned to the old weaknesses of civilian government. It was not the intention of those who overthrew Numeiri that that should occur, but eventually it may prove to be the case, and if so, the failure to agree with the SPLA will be one of the steps on the way.

The hope of the professionals in the National Alliance for National Salvation, better known simply as the Alliance, was that after a period of correction and peacemaking under the auspices of the transitional government, there would be a constitutional conference to decide on the future governmental system for the country; but that proved unattainable before elections were held under the pre-Numeiri arrangements In returning to a similar form of government to that which obtained under earlier civilian rule, the danger was that Sudan would be returning also to weaknesses of that system from which it might then find it very difficult to extract itself to create a new form of constitution, especially with the civil war continuing One year after the elections there is still talk of the decisive constitutional conference, but it is a long way from reaching fruition and meanwhile some characteristics of politics in the earlier period are beginning to recur

A major aspect that has returned has been the importance of political parties and the high level of competition between them. Political parties in the Third World have often proved rather fragile creations, but in Sudan there was a natural backbone, at least in the north of the country, provided by the major Islamic movements It was not simply that these sects existed in order to be mobilised, rather the major ones have long had an unusually sharp political role as well as substantial social roots The most unusual is al-Umma, the party of the supporters of the family of Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi who led the great *jihad* of the nineteenth century over-throwing Turco-Egyptian rule and killing 'Chinese' Gordon in Khartoum in 1885 British control of Sudan from 1898 to 1956 included, surprisingly, presiding over the rehabilitation of Mahdism, but it proved a useful sentiment first against Turkish propaganda in World War I and then against repeated Egyptian claims to Sudan In return the Mahdi's posthumous son, Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi, manoeuvred cleverly to build himself up through agriculture and commerce, re-kindle Mahdist

supporters, especially in western Sudan, and then form Sudan's first political party, al-Umma, in 1945. The continuing strength of Mahdism has often come as a surprise in view of the social changes in the country, but al-Umma has survived and in 1986 the Mahdi's great-grandson, Sadiq al-Mahdi, was able to lead the party to electoral victory based once more on support from the west

Mahdism had always had political ambitions, but in the case of the main rival, the Khatmiyya sect, the story has been less of ambition than accommodation As a more typical *sufi* sect it had a tradition of active political accommodation with the Turco-Egyptian and British rulers as well as a long rivalry with the Mahdists who persecuted it during the period of the Mahdist state from 1885 to 1898 The Khatmiyya was not only seeking spiritual tolerance from politics, it also contained many of Sudan's active businessmen who well knew the importance of involvement in government for the success of their commercial activities The Khatmiyya has thus been at the centre of what is broadly known as the Unionist Party and it too re-emerged to run second to al-Umma in 1986

The main change in party structure has been a vigorous challenge, particularly to the Unionists, from the Islamic National Front (INF) backed by the Muslim Brotherhood Essentially an ideological movement, appealing largely to the young, it benefitted organisationally and financially from a period of collaboration with Numeiri (which some voters appear to have forgiven or forgotten) and in consequence picked up seats in the special constituencies for graduates and in and around Khartoum enabling it to run a strong third doing significantly better than any 'ideological' party hitherto In contrast the Front's leftist rivals of the 1960s, especially the Sudan Communist Party, have fared badly

While the relative strength of political parties in the north has changed hitherto, political parties have never made much progress at all in the south and in consequence the return to democracy in a unitary state in 1986 threatens the continuance of the exclusion of the south from the political system, even if the present civil war were to end There are many reasons for the differences between north and south in Sudan, but what matters here is that while the north has a degree of homogeneity and religious movements which can act as vehicles for building political parties over substantial areas of the country, the south lacks either of these attributes The south is not only very different from the north, but is internally extremely heterogeneous and lacking any comparable vehicles to the sects for party-building Since it is also even poorer as a region it lacks resources as well, and in consequence has always been too weak to organise itself as the force its size and numbers (roughly one-third of the country) suggest that it should be

This effective political exclusion gave rise to civil war in the 1960s and the fear of it being repeated in present circumstances is one of the obstacles to agreement with the SPLA now Northern party politicians may have gained from a return to the old forms of unitary liberal democracy but the south would probably not do so, particularly as there is

certainly no guarantee that a large (15-20,000) and well organised guerrilla army could be converted into a political party A sense of political exclusion is not easily resolved and can result in long-running and debilitating conflicts as many countries know to their cost

The exclusion of the south from political power in a democratic Sudan, and of other smaller disaffected regional groups in east and west as well, is not simply due to callousness or insensitivity on the part of major parties, it has also resulted from the overwhelming predominance of coalition governments Only in 1954, before independence, did any party ever win an outright majority enabling it to govern on its own, and that NUP government under Ismail al-Azhari was overturned shortly after the British left in 1956 All other elections produced the necessity for some form of coalition, and when as was generally the case, these coalitions proved unstable, the main preoccupation of government became survival There are those who argue for the constructive character of coalition government and suggest that it can replace confrontation by consensus, but that was not how it worked in Sudan Instead there were constant changes of government as coalition parties sought to stab one another in the back, while the major parties suffered from factionalism and minor parties were unstable

The National Unionist Party, the outright winners of 1954, showed signs of factionalism from the outset and by 1956 the Peoples Democratic Party had split from it, only to re-unite in 1968 as the Democratic Unionist Party Even the Umma Party split into warring factions under Sadiq al-Mahdi and his uncle the Imam al-Hadi al-Mahdi with the latter keeping the former out of government for several years The frustration of coalition government itself seemed to be a factor in creating factionalism, while the factions in turn made government more unstable As for the smaller parties, who appeared to hold the balance of power, they often had weaknesses as parties which tended to make their role intermittent, and they thus added to the instability of the system leading to growing criticism and resistance from deprived areas particularly in the south, which remained at war after the civilians took power again in 1964 in spite of the peace efforts of the Round Table Conference in 1965. In the circumstances it is hardly surprising that many people felt that it was a relief when the army intervened in 1969 and hoped that some more constructive form of government could be imposed.

The return to liberal democracy in 1986 has been, in the short run at least, largely a return to the old ways Unlike Nigeria, which made sweeping changes in its democratic constitution *before* the soldiers handed over power, Sudan proposes to make any major changes in a future constitutional conference, the timing of which seems to recede and remain constantly just over the horizon And in the meantime the working of the system resembles the past Once more there is a coalition government. with three major parties, none of which holds an overall majority, there were attempts to create a national government, but when those talks failed it became a Umma-Unionist coalition with the INF as the main opposition.

Already this coalition is showing signs of instability and as recently as May this year the leading Unionist in the government, foreign minister, Zain al-Abdin al-Hindi, resigned, amidst much speculation about some possible new deal between prime minister Sadiq al-Mahdi and his brother-in-law, the leader of the INF, Hassan al-Turabi

This was followed at the end of May by the resignation of his government in order that Sadiq could form a fresh cabinet While the major parties manoeuvre once more, the minor ones still seem unstable, particularly the southern parties, whose representatives come from those constituencies insufficiently affected by the fighting with the SPLA for elections to be held A southern minister, Kunijwok Gwadwo-Ayoker, had earlier resigned in protest at the government's southern appointments Nor are these the only aspects of the past to surface again The press has been full of reports of nepotism in government appointments and there has been little attempt to rebutt these accusations other than references to ensuring unity and solidarity, though the Mahdi's family have had their internal rivalries in the past Similarly, stories of the rise once more of corruption have also been doing the rounds of a capital always thick with political gossip and rumour.

A further, and in many ways most damaging re-run of the sixties lies in the continuance of civil war in the south The two civilian overthrows of the military were partly instigated as a result of the failure of the military regimes to settle the civil war in the south, and both times it was hoped that there would be a swift resolution which turned out to be impossible The problem of settlement has not been just of disagreement between the north and south, but of a more complex character Democratic governments which are unstable coalitions are not in a very strong position to negotiate, with constant fears of being accused of weakness Some regard Sadiq as politically hedged in and unable to negotiate effectively, others think that he is fundamentally opposed to the aims of the SPLA in spite of the apparently narrow gap when he did hold talks with Garang at Koka dam in Ethiopia last July

Whatever his motives there are clearly greater political pitfalls in him negotiating than there were for Numeiri in 1971-1972, when his was a narrowly based military regime in greater need of new southern friends than fear of the immediate dangers of northern enemies, two of whom he had just defeated in violent clashes, the Mahdists and the Communists At the same time it was easier to negotiate with the southern movement in 1972, for it was concerned essentially with regional questions and prepared to settle for regional government in the south with relative unconcern for the rest of the country

Garang's vision of the SPLA has always been to see it as a movement seeking to re-structure the Sudan, and as such he has had a good deal of sympathy from radical elements in the north Such questions as secularisation of the present Islamic law, uneven development of the different regions, and a new political system (perhaps including some form of federalism) are all understandable in view of past shortcomings, but

also have a potential to hurt a number of central northern interests which have every reason for wanting to enjoy a return to the ways of an earlier era in which many of them prospered It can sound like a recipe for deadlock, and is a salient reminder that civil wars in Africa do not often end in negotiation, and can drag on for years — the neighbouring civil war in Eritrea has been continuing since 1962 and shows no sign of coming to an end yet.

If there is no constitutional conference to produce a political framework more capable of national integration than unitary liberal democracy, and if war does continue in the south, then the prospect of a further military coup some time in the future cannot be discounted But while military rule may have brought peace once, in 1972, it was also under the two military rulers that war started Furthermore the long period of military rule which ended with Numeiri's downfall not only finished in renewed civil war and political revolt but deteriorating economic conditions for many and famine for a significant minority — a famine in which governmental failures, played a direct part as well as drought and desertification. Thus military rule may hold no salvation, but rather be a possible re-run of former problems, just as the return to liberal democracy has so far proved a re-run of earlier difficulties Unless a real commitment can be made to creating a new political framework capable of producing a more stable democratic government at the centre while doing more to counter the justifiable charges of neglect and uneven development in the more isolated regions, Sudan's future could be as unstable as its past.

[Peter Woodward taught at the University of Khartoum before returning to the University of Reading He is the author of *Condominium and Sudanese Nationalism* (Rex Collings, 1979), co-editor of *Sudan Since Independence* (Gower, 1987), editor of *Sudan Since Numeiri* (Croom Helm, 1987) forthcoming, and Joint Editor of *African Affairs*, the Journal of the Royal African Society]

PROPORTIONAL MISREPRESENTATION

by Peter Hain

NOBODY can deny the validity of the cries 'unfair', 'foul' or 'antiquated' increasingly levelled at Britain's electoral system. First-past-the-post electoral systems can unquestionably result in all sorts of anomalies Mrs Thatcher gained a landslide majority in 1983 by winning 58 more seats than in the 1979 general election even though the Tory vote actually declined by 1 5 per cent. In 1983 the Liberals and the Social Democrats together polled over 25 per cent of votes, but obtained under 4 per cent of MPs, it took

32,777 votes to elect a Conservative MP
40,482 votes to elect a Labour MP
338,860 votes to elect an Alliance MP.

But to claim that because proportional representation (PR) would be *fairer* it would also be more *democratic* is altogether different In fact, PR may well be a complete diversion an alternative programme of radical political reform could extend and improve the quality of democracy far more effectively.

Therefore, to question the case for PR is not to defend the *status quo.* It is common ground amongst those who hold progressive opinions — whether they are pro-PR, anti-PR or agnostic about it — that Britain's political system is antiquated, much too centralised, elitist and obsessively secretive Far-reaching changes are necessary to make it genuinely democratic Furthermore, if electoral reform is to be pursued as part of these changes, the 'Alternative Vote' system might satisfy the desire for fairness whilst protecting the other democratic principles which PR can be shown to undermine

The PR system commonly proposed for Britain is the Single Transferable Vote in multi-member constituencies (STV) In recent elections in Britain about half the votes cast played no direct part in the election of an MP, whereas under STV this could be reduced to below a fifth. STV would end the practice whereby most MPs under the 'winner-take-all' procedure are elected on a minority vote.

However, it would replace our traditional single-member constituency averaging 65,000 electors with massive new constituencies containing about 315,000 electors London seats would be about one and a half times the size of an existing borough In rural areas, say Northern Scotland, a multi-member seat would cover thousands of square miles of land and sea

Because of the problems associated with such large constituencies, a prestigious all-party and pro-PR commission set up by the Hansard Society recommended against the STV system in 1976 Its Report pointed out that in no case had STV been used in a country with a population anywhere near as great as Britain's

In an attempt to overcome some of these problems of STV, the

Liberal/SDP Alliance has proposed a system of 'Community PR' consisting of 143 different sized constituencies formed by merging existing single-member seats Some would have as many as eight members, others as few as one, two or three. Most of the large ones would be in urban areas and the smaller ones in rural areas.

Community PR tries to create seats out of 'natural communities'. Single-member seats would be formed in scantily populated areas like Caithness and Sutherland in the Scottish Highlands, and on islands like the Isle of Wight and Orkney and Shetlands Two- three- or four-member seats would be formed in natural county or shire areas. Towns and cities would become single seats with the number of members being determined by their population Hull and Plymouth would be three-member, Coventry four-member, Bristol five-member, Sheffield six-member, Liverpool seven-member and Leeds eight-member.

However, community PR would simply substitute one set of idiosyncracies for another Conveniently, three of the four proposed single-member seats are held by Alliance MPs Amongst the multi-member seats suggested were a number where an extra MP was added in a way which seemed designed to ensure that the Alliance benefited.

'Community PR' would treat the major parties unevenly in another respect. Most rural seats would have four or less MPs and on recent performances it would be difficult for the Labour Party to gain representation there, even if it polled over 20 per cent. By contrast, if the Alliance and Tories polled under 20 per cent in the urban seats with more members, they would be certain to secure at least one MP. Thus Community PR would be politically discriminatory

Concerned at the complexities and anomalies of STV, some PR supporters are in favour of what are called 'List' systems Basically, electors vote for a party rather than an individual, and MPs are then selected from central or regional party lists of candidates in numbers proportional to their party's total vote

Although they operate widely in Europe, the real objections to List systems are ones which have led most British supporters of PR to reject them First, the link between the MP and the local constituents is completely broken. Second, power is further centralised by concentrating decision-making over the selection of candidates, and thereby the allocation of seats, into national or, at best, regional party organisations Local community and even local party opinion can be virtually shut out under this arrangement

An attempt to strike a compromise is found in Germany Here, proportionality is achieved by 'topping up' a single-member constituency system with a list system Each elector has two votes. The first is for the 'constituency candidate', chosen on the same basis as in Britain The second is for the party Usually voters choose the party to which the candidate they have supported belongs, but they need not do so

Half the seats are filled by 'constituency MPs' elected on the first-past-the-post basis The other half are allocated by a computer to candidates

on regional party lists to top up their total number of MPs to an amount that is directly proportional to their overall standing in the second or 'party' vote aggregated across each region There is a 'threshold' vote of 5 per cent which parties have to pass before they are entitled to representation.

In some respects preferable to other List systems, the German one nevertheless suffers from a number of disadvantages The first-past-the-post constituency element still returns MPs who do not have to win a majority of the local electorate, offending one of the principles most keenly adhered to by PR supporters.

The list element of the system is controlled by party bureaucracies and is vulnerable to patronage· the great virtue of local party control is that the scope for patronage and central manipulation is limited As one of Britain's leading PR advocates, Enid Lakeman, conceded 'It is nearly impossible for the German voters to elect a person whom the Party organisation does not want, and quite impossible to reject one whom the party does want '

When it considered the implications of introducing a German-type system in Britain, the Hansard Society report was especially concerned about the implications of having two types of MPs those elected as now and those who need not have the substantial support of electors in any area but are appointed by the party machine Directly elected MPs could claim to be more legitimate than those appointed, and the system means a substantial body in Parliament would not be democratically accountable to the electorate

The Hansard report opted instead for a further compromise option which it termed the 'Additional Member' system Under this, electors would vote exactly as they do now, filling three-quarters of the seats (480), except that they would be increased in size by about a third The remaining quarter (160) would be used to 'top up' these seats, as in the German system, to achieve greater proportionality within each region of the country In other words, the directly elected MPs would be supplemented by others in order to ensure that the number of seats in the regions corresponded as closely as possible to the proportion of votes cast for each party.

But it is significant that, despite its prestige and its dispassionate approach, the Hansard Report came up with an option suffering from major shortcomings It still recommended two classes of MPs, those directly elected and those 'additional' members Some constituencies would have two or maybe even three MPs, other constituencies would have just one MP The 'additional' MPs need have no connection with the area to which they are allocated On the basis of doing relatively well in another area, candidates would be allocated as additional members to seats where the electors they find themselves representing need not have had a say in who they are

In its conclusions the Hansard Commission was caught between a 'fundamental and unanimous' desire for electoral reform, and an honest

acknowledgment that when it came to their actual implementation in Britain, all the PR options proposed had major, and in some cases fatal, defects. In that sense it expressed rather neatly the dominant dilemma of those who readily concede that the present system has shortcomings but who remain sceptical that democracy will be enhanced by adopting any of the alternatives so far proposed

The major defect of PR is that, whatever system is adopted, the scope for local accountability is undermined, and more power is sucked upwards to regional or national levels of the party structure.

Under STV the influence of the ordinary party member—small enough as it is—would be still further reduced. In multi-member seats, the selection of candidates would be done on an area rather than a constituency basis and power would shift away from the constituency level to area-based caucuses and party factions The MP would have no clear line of accountability to the membership — unless local parties were merged to coincide with the areas covered by multi-member constituencies (which would itself be a centralising move) With fewer direct lines to individual local activists and members, MPs would find it more difficult to keep in touch

Under List systems candidates will have to be known outside their local areas to be voted onto the party list, and those supported by party officials and organisers would have a head start And although under the Additional Member system the 'topping up' procedure may preserve many single-member constituencies, these will still be a third larger in order to make room for the additional members in the Commons The MPs elected through any sort of list (with or without a topping-up element) will be chosen on a national, or at best, a regional basis Their natural attachment will be to the party machine or the parliamentary leadership, rather than to local opinion.

Under the STV system with its massive constituencies it would be almost impossible for the MP to develop a close or informed relationship with his or her constituents Close contact with constituency issues, individual electors and members of the local party would be difficult if not impossible — as British Euro-MPs have found in the similar sized single constituencies they represent

There is also likely to be some conflict between MPs in the same multi-member seats in deciding how their roles will differ. Will they seek to represent their own party supporters only? Or will they divide up the whole constituency, and take a section each? In addition, under PR the ordinary voter will have less opportunity to determine the composition of the government, because coalitions will become the norm rather than the exception

In general, the voter does not vote for a particular combination of parties to form a coalition The coalition may in some general way reflect the balance of votes, but it is determined by a post-election political deal done at the centre, not by the people voting in their local polling booths.

PR advocates often stresses the opportunity under STV to vote for

individuals, and that this produces a more 'personal' electoral procedure which is 'the essence of democracy'. However, they ignore the democratic right of electors to vote for a set of *policies* Under the present electoral system, the party manifesto at least symbolises the intentions of the party seeking to form a government.

Under PR — with its built-in tendency towards coalitionism — the manifesto is very unlikely to express the programme of the subsequent government. Parties will have to abandon or alter large sections of their manifestos as part of the compromises needed to form a coalition The manifesto would become less a series of promises to be enacted, and more a set of trading tokens to be 'cashed' in exchange for political office There will also be a temptation to add certain policies to the manifesto in the knowledge that, although other parties will find them unacceptable, they will make useful tokens with which to bargain for power after the election Manifestos would become almost pointless, certainly as documents against which governments could later be assessed

By its very nature the business of agreeing coalitions is not an open one Inevitably, it means wheeler-dealing behind closed doors and therefore a further concentration of power in the hands of political elites

This was acknowledged by the political scientist Sartori, a proponent of an 'elitist' system of democracy He argued quite unashamedly that PR would be a good thing because it invariably produces coalition governments which make it difficult for the electorate to 'pin down who is responsible' for decisions! Another political scientist has argued in similar terms that STV would encourage a 'moderate leadership' of the Labour Party because it would 'help to protect the parliamentary party from extra-parliamentary control.' In other words, it would undermine the accountability of Labour's political elite to local party members, community groups and trade unions.

Small centre parties usually hold the balance of power under PR, exercising an influence quite out of proportion to their popular support

In Germany, the Free Democrat Party has been described as 'the universal harlot of the German system, always in the governmental bed with the highest bidder ' It has failed to win a single constituency by a simple majority since 1957 yet has been in government for all but three years during this period In Israel, tiny right wing parties have held the balance of power.

Besides being undemocratic, this can have a de-stabilising effect In Europe, many countries regularly find themselves in the hands of 'caretaker' governments when it proves difficult to surmount the obstacles to forming a majority government The Netherlands, Belgium and Italy have all been without effective governments for periods of weeks or months — for as long as seven months in the Netherlands in 1977

Italy's 'Imperiali' system of PR introduced in 1946 has in the last 40 years led to 45 different governments Germany's Weimar Republic had 20 governments in 14 years under a List system. It also had hyper-inflation, mass unemployment, economic crises, dangerous political

extremism — and, ultimately, Hitler.

The rise of fascism in Italy also occurred under a PR system first introduced in 1919, and under which Mussolini came to power in 1922. The 1967 Colonels coup in Greece happened despite PR arrangements first introduced in 1926 and subsequently modified It is not suggested that these problems were caused by PR, but that they existed in spite of it — contrary to the claims of PR advocates, who argue it promotes stability.

A strong argument for PR often directed at the left is that it would require majority support to be won for a socialist programme. However it is a rather crude model of political reality which designates obligatory opposition until the magic 50 per cent hurdle is cleared and socialism suddenly acquires legitimacy It is absurd to suggest that, for example, socialism would be out of order with 49.9 per cent of the vote but given the green light at 50 1 per cent.

Taking the overall view, if there is no return to a two-party system, then the pressure for some sort of change in the voting system could become overwhelming But a basic question still needs to be asked: what actual difference to the lives of the majority of people would electoral reform make? The answer is, surely not very much Overcoming class divisions, social inequalities, bankrupt economic policies and centralised power are far greater priorities

A more fruitful approach by those serious about radical political change would be to transform the whole antiquated and elitist structure of British government into one that is open, participatory and re-distributes the maximum possible power to every citizen

This — with the optional extra of the AV in domestic elections and STV for EEC elections — is the positive, democratic alternative to the case for proportional representation in Britain

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[Peter Hain, Labour candidate for Putney in the 1987 UK General Election, came second in the poll with 17,290 votes His book, *Proportional Misrepresentation,* is published by Wildwood House, price £5 95 or £15 hardback]

In the UK General Election on 11 June 1987 the distribution of seats was:— Conservatives 376, Labour 229, Alliance 22, Others 23 Overall the Conservative majority was 101 Paul Rose will contribute an article, *The Election of the Century,* in the August issue, commenting on and analysing the results of the poll.

THE IRISH AND THE ENGLISH

by Roy Morrell

MRS Thatcher defends the Anglo-Irish Agreement by insisting that sooner or later the people of Northern Ireland will say to themselves, 'Look· if there's to be a future for our children, we've got to learn to live together ' One slightly comic response from the Unionists (if anything about the Province can be said to be comic) is the claim that happily 'living together' was precisely what they were doing, or anyway what they were about to do, when the nefarious 'Agreement' blocked the way To this aspect we will return, but first let us get one thing out of the way

Mrs Thatcher has put the cart before the horse Instead of 'if there's to be a future for our children, we've got to learn to live together,' she should have said, 'If there's to be a future for the adults, the children must go to school together, live together, and learn to know one another ' Nowhere is it more obvious than in Ulster that 'The Child is father of the Man', and after seeing the parades and demonstrations that appear periodically on television, some might be tempted to add 'and nowhere else do so many grown men act like children '

A six-year-old of my acquaintance, whose parents had just moved to Belfast, returned from her first day at school and asked. 'What are Catholics and why must we throw stones at them?' That was in 1968 before the present round of Troubles got under way We profess to be appalled by apartheid in South Africa, but Ulster's admittedly very different apartheid is quite as appalling There are many mature and tolerant members of both communities who would not dream of encouraging their children to hate and despise those in the opposite camp; and if it were not for these people — perhaps the 'silent majority' in the Province — there would be little point in worrying about Ulster's future; but unquestionably there are other parents who are only too concerned to keep the centuries-old hatreds alive, and the evil that is found, not in every child, but in every gang of children, guarantees that prejudice and violence will continue. Until the education of Protestants and Catholics is integrated, a sufficient number of bigots will be bred to perpetuate the parades and provocations to hatred

There are other things that can be done for Northern Ireland but nothing has a chance of success until the children have been educated together for a decade or two, and have discovered that the Other Lot are at least human

Nothing was sadder than listening to two Open University broadcasts in the course 'Contemporary Issues in Education' towards the end of the last session, in which two Ulster teachers, one Catholic and one Protestant, mentioned with amused condescension the efforts of one experimental school, but agreed that integrated education could never be general in Ulster The Protestant pointed out that it would be impossible in his

school to teach anything like the version of Irish history taught by the Catholics, and another area over which there could be neither agreement nor compromise was that of biology and evolution. Needless to say religion was not touched on in the broadcast, nor was the matter of the Irish language What was so saddening was the tacit and total agreement between the two, the taken-for-granted assumption that there were two separate communities in Northern Ireland, and no bridge between them

In retrospect this system of separate education, with different curricula, seems wrong-headed and certain to cause trouble. But it was probably well-intentioned If the Protestants in control had the education they wanted, it must have seemed fair that the Catholics should have what *they* wanted, too The idea that, as citizens of the same state, both communities had a right — and a responsibility — to have the same education, seems to have occurred to no one One has to remember that some of Ulster's institutions are anachronisms, dating from Lloyd George's Government of Ireland Act of 1920 when, and for several years thereafter, it was assumed by Nationalists in the Free State as well as in the North, and by the British (by everyone indeed except the Protestant Unionists) that Unionist Ulster was a temporary arrangement awaiting proper partition between North and South

Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien, whose book, *States of Ireland* (1972) contains an authoritative and splendidly unbiased account of the events behind Ulster's present difficulties, has several times since, in *The Observer* and elsewhere, urged the need for re-partition The arguments seem no less valid today

First, the Protestant Unionists are always declaring their rights as a majority, but by the same criterion areas of the Province with a Republican majority should be governed by the Republic Since the 1920s Stormont (or Westminster, but to the areas concerned there cannot seem much difference) has ruled these areas *without the consent of the people.* This alone makes Westminster's failure to enlist Dublin's help in redrawing the Border highly culpable. Second, in these border areas where the population is largely Catholic or Republican, British troops are in a totally false position and, even if this doesn't affect their morale, the odds are heavily weighted against them and in favour of the IRA guerillas. It is monstrous that we should continue to put lives at risk to bolster up a wrongful cause. Third, the actual Border still awaits rationalisation. It is said to be 303 miles long. How short it could be made by excluding Republican districts from the Province is impossible to say, but a straight line from Newry to Loch Derg which then turned north-east straight to the east end of the bridge across the Foyle at Derry measures only a little over a hundred miles Frontiers can seldom be straight lines, but as the line just indicated would still retain Republican areas in the North, a border that ceded these to the Republic might conceivably be shortened to 130 or 150 miles and then be properly fortified Fourth, although re-partition would not solve the problem of the Catholic/Republican area of West Belfast, it would make it no worse and be a step in the direction

of peace for the Province Protestant Unionists claim that they make up two thirds of Ulster's population, but some estimates put the proportion as low as 60%, and predict that by the year 2050 the Republicans will be in the majority Were it not for the largely Republican areas in the south and west of the Province which re-partition would exclude, the Unionist majority would be larger and safer, and it is not just a matter of numbers, but also of morale If the majority-minority ratio should change from 2-1 to 4-1 or 5-1, the minority would make the best of a bad job, or move out But if the ratio creeps from 2-1 towards 3-2 (i e , 60%—40%), the Unionists will constantly have cause to fear, and the Republicans to hope for, revolution, and whatever the exact ratio is, this is precisely what most of the trouble in Northern Ireland is about

Dr O'Brien quotes Iain Hamilton's view (1970) that the Ulster Troubles of the 1960s began with Terence O'Neill's 'attempt to liberalize the Unionist regime's attitude to the Catholic community Since Lord O'Neill's first meeting with Sean Lemass in 1965, events have borne out Tocqueville's dictum that a grievance, while it may be patiently endured so long as it seems beyond redress, comes to appear intolerable once the possibility of removing it crosses men's minds ' This seems a different way of saying not quite the same thing as my reasoning about ratios above, but the principle is the same, and the corollary is that with a much more secure majority, the Unionists could afford to greatly liberalize their attitude (their notorious 'bigotry') in general, and to the few Catholics remaining in Ulster in particular The fear has been expressed, and I believe this is the official excuse of the Unionists, that a Province smaller than the present 'Six Counties' would not be viable, and would soon be absorbed into the Republic, or overrun by Nationalists I should have thought that a Northern Ireland smaller, perhaps much smaller, than the present one would have no difficulty in surviving if it maintained its 'Union' with Britain Even if it did not (for there have been talks of UDI), a smaller Protestant state might survive with much less conflict and bloodshed than seems to have become 'acceptable' in the Six Counties

We must remind ourselves, however, that the avoidance of conflict may not be a prime target of either side And if we cannot understand such a point of view, we ought to be able to· a considerable number of Englishmen not only try to kill and maim one another on the terraces of football stadiums, but insist that it is right and proper and manly to do so It is said that the suicide rate in Northern Ireland is the lowest in Europe, most people like their way of life there The question is rather whether Britain can justify its continued support of a regime that seems to entail injustice and violence

Before returning to Mrs. Thatcher I must once more quote from Conor Cruise O'Brien; this time from a review of a book about Ian Paisley in *The Listener* (22 1 1987)·

> The Hillsborough Agreement was prompted, we were told, by a desire 'to reconcile the two traditions' in Northern Ireland The traditions cannot in fact be reconciled since what they are traditionally about is *not* being reconciled

This puts neatly what anyone with a knowledge of Ireland must recognise

as true but what successive English politicians, with their attempts to promote 'power sharing' and 'reconciliation' have failed to understand Doubtless, Ulstermen such as Chichester-Clark and Brian Faulkner understood it well enough, but they were happy to humour Westminster and its proposals knowing that they wouldn't work Compliance was the easiest way to maintain the *status quo*

Anyway, what are these 'traditions'? Many Ulster people, even if they are not the kind of Loyalists who parade on 12th July and 12th August, with colourful banners depicting a victorious William III at the Battle of the Boyne, with bowler hats and ornate sashes, drummers and pipers and all the rest, defend these parades and all the rehearsals and preparations and Orange Lodge rites that lead up to them, as their birthright, their 'traditional' way of life They don't say, but of course they mean, that it is the traditional *Protestant* way And they don't say, but they know, and we know, that the leaders will insist (and attack the police if the police bar the way) that the tradition includes routeing the marches through Republican and Catholic districts where bloodshed and violence could break out If it did break out, it would be through no fault of the Loyalists, it should be understood in Northern Ireland it is not enough that conduct should be *liable* to cause a breach of the peace, or that it should actually have caused one, the law requires *proof of intention* There is talk of a change on the way: a change due, I understand, to the hated 'agreement', but it may not come into force just yet; meanwhile intention remains theoretically possible but practically impossible to prove. Other Unionist traditions include the equally colourful murals and lively graffiti in such areas as Belfast's Sandy Row. I have not heard Catholic or Republican traditions — with the exception of Catholic schools and school curricula — defended in the same way. But surely few would deny that the bombs, the pomp of funeral processions where the coffin-bearers are suddenly replaced by gunmen in IRA uniforms, the car 'borrowings' that become the means of intimidation or blackmail, the snipings, and the hit-and-run feats of the guerillas, though rather less colourful, are traditions worthy to be set against those of the Loyalists? I am trying to indicate the kinds of things which the Ulster people think they will lose by saying 'Yes' to the agreement It seems certain that by saying 'No' they mean they want the conflict to continue Margaret Thatcher's assumption that they wish to 'live together' peacefully may be true of the 'silent majority', it is not true of the militants who control the situation — and who would control the terms of any referendum, unless Westminster were uncharacteristically wary

A referendum on whether individuals say 'yes' or 'no' to the Hillsborough Agreement, for which Unionists are clamouring, is likely to tell us nothing we do not know already, as the Unionists themselves will readily admit But a referendum of a different kind, asking each voter if he or she would prefer to be governed by the Republic or by the UK, *and recording each voter's place of residence,* might be of great value to any future Commission on the Province.

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There is no point in pretending that the 'Accord' has succeeded. The very word, with its implications of 'heart to heart', is anathema to Loyalist Protestants But there is a mountain of difference between a scheme that fails because it is impracticable or bad in itself, and one that is sabotaged. A year ago (22 January 1986) *The Times* published an 'Ulster Protest' by Edmund Curran, deputy editor of *The Belfast Telegraph* Whether it was a threat or not, it could be read as one The Hillsborough Agreement, Mr Curran told us, would not work. And he meant that everyone in Ulster would take very good care that it would fail The Unionists had made short work of the Sunningdale Agreement; they would make even shorter work of this one. Such protests can be rather vague about Nationalist opinion: Mr Curran does not manage to give the impression that the Catholics hate the agreement because they were happy with things as they were; but nor does he mention the real reason: that the Nationalists and Catholics dislike anything that seems to condone or prolong partition.

Subsequent events can have escaped no-one, and surprised no-one· our television screens have conscientiously kept us informed of Dr Paisley's and Mr Molyneaux's more picturesque rallies and protests, and the curious can find other exploits, numbers of casualties, and so on, chronicled on pages 568-570 of the current *Whitaker.*

On 6th January this year, *The Guardian* published two letters under the heading 'The Irish agreement that has utterly failed' That it had 'utterly failed' was the view of the paper, since these words were not within 'quotes'. The first letter, from John Livingston, was of factual interest; it listed failures of the Republic to implement the Agreement: it pointed out that the clauses in the Republic's *Constitution* which claim jurisdiction over the whole island are still intact and are likely to remain so; that the Republic has done nothing to improve Border Security; that, despite claims from Tom King, there is little co-operation between Irish and British security forces, because the Irish will not speak to British soldiers, regarding them as an army of occupation; and 'The most damning evidence against the Anglo-Irish Agreement' he continues,

> is Dublin's decision to postpone extradition to the UK for another twelve months This ensures the IRA a safe haven for the whole of 1987 The Border remains open, the Irish cannot catch the terrorists, they do not recognise the British Army or extradite IRA murderers .

True enough, if one-sided. can one entirely blame the Republic for stalling over extraditions while the single-judge Diplock courts continue to operate? After all, there have been suspicions, not entirely allayed, concerning the RUC, misgivings over 'super-grass' evidence, and a few known miscarriages of justice And the antics of the Reverend Dr Ian Paisley and Mr Peter Robinson can hardly have inspired confidence in Dublin

The other letter contained no facts, but was far more interesting It came from Gregory Campbell, of the Association of Democratic Unionist Councillors in Belfast; and since the leader of the Democratic Unionists is Dr Paisley, the importance of the letter, as representative of a powerful section of Ulster opinion, cannot be overestimated. In the letter, which

is a model of clarity, Councillor Campbell endorses the 'perfectly legitimate reasonable aims' expressed by Mrs. Thatcher of bringing the two communities together, but politely points out that the 'barrier' (apparently the only barrier) in the way forward to 'peace, harmony and reconciliation' is the Anglo-Irish 'accord'. 'There is a way forward', Councillor Campbell goes on, underlining his point, 'which will take into account the traditions of both communities, the stumbling block is the Anglo-Irish agreement'. Splendidly reassuring: but what is this 'way forward'? And why have Messrs Campbell, Curran, McCusker and other unionists not taken it long ago? Or is the implication that, since the 1920s, Ulster Unionists have been steadily progressing along this way forward of 'peace, harmony and reconciliation' until this 'stumbling block', this 'barrier' was perversely and unaccountaby thrown across the path? One might also like to ask Mr Campbell what particular 'traditions' he has in mind that have been steps, or have made up just one step, in the direction of 'peace, harmony and reconciliation', but by the time one has formulated these questions one realises that the door will have been shut, and that the real meaning of the letter is simply, 'Mind your own business Ulster belongs to us, and we are answerable to no one'.

It has often been remarked that the Loyalists' greatest asset is their unshakeable conviction that whatever they do or leave undone, they are always in the right. This is what gives Councillor Campbell's letter its tone, and makes it such an interesting document. It is this too that makes possible the Unionists' appeal to the Queen.

Earlier, I wrote that things might be done 'for' Northern Ireland. Not 'in' or 'by', because it is becoming more and more evident that the Province will not do anything positive for itself· by 'positive' is meant anything along the road forward (to use Councillor Campbell's phrase) and out of the vicious circle of complacency and hatred Ulster has manoeuvred itself into a position where it can say only 'no'. This may sound as though I am attacking only the Protestants. That is not so. I am well aware of Catholic crimes against Protestants in the past, some of them in the very recent past, I deplore the way that, in the Republic, the Roman Catholic Church has absorbed the Protestants, and all but obliterated the Protestant tradition to which Ireland owes so much, the tradition of Parnell, Wolfe Tone and Yeats Needless to say, *that* Protestant tradition hasn't much to do with that of the Ulster extremists It has a little, though; and the trouble is that the Ulster Loyalists are bringing all Irish Protestantism into disrepute, as well as seriously endangering their own cause Besides, it is preposterous that the UK government, which is responsible (and even in the Stormont days was ultimately responsible) for affairs in Northern Ireland, should be put in a position of maintaining and guaranteeing — at considerable cost of lives and money — a regime of which the UK itself largely disapproves and which much of the civilized world regards as 'colonial' or 'repressive'.

Westminster has paid the piper long enough, and no one outside Ulster could have been surprised at her trying to call the tune. Mrs. Thatcher,

admittedly, might have acted more tactfully, and consulted the Unionist leaders about the 'Accord' in advance, but does anyone imagine that the Unionists would have said 'yes' or done anything but block negotiations? Intervention had to come from outside Unfortunately Margaret Thatcher and Garret Fitzgerald are not far enough outside the Unionists hate and fear the Republican Irish; and the Republican Irish hate and distrust the English.

A belated appeal should have been made to the United Nations, or perhaps to Europe, with an invitation to the USA to participate. An element of wishful thinking has sometimes characterised English assumptions about our relationship with the United States ('what "special relationship" is that?', a puzzled President Kennedy is reported to have asked Macmillan); but there has never been any doubt about the USA's friendship towards Ireland. This has sometimes been enthusiastic and misguided rather than informed and effective; indeed, one of the Iris Murdoch's characters quotes James Connolly, the 1916 martyr and Irish socialist, as saying that the snakes driven out of Ireland by Saint Patrick swam the Atlantic and became Irish Americans Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the UN and the Americans would have been willing to help, and that an appeal from Britain would have been welcomed as an act of good faith Presumably, too, the findings of an international commission would carry some weight even with the Ulster Protestants

Ironically, an appeal to the United Nations was actually made by Jack Lynch, the then Taoiseach, after the Apprentice Boys' disastrous march in August 1969 Exactly what came of it I don't know Presumably it was 'overtaken by events' the deployment of British troops in Derry's Bogside and Belfast's Falls Road, where initially they protected Catholics against a combined force of Protestants and police who had invaded these areas under the impression that they were resisting an uprising organised by Dublin, then a declaration from Downing Street divesting Stormont of its powers; next the disarming of the B Specials; then the Cameron Report indicting various institutions of the Province; the Hunt report on the Police Meanwhile the situation in the Province deteriorated disastrously One wonders whether anyone at Westminster today regrets that Lynch's appeal came to nothing Britain's confidence of being able to cope with Ireland and the Irish singlehanded had won the day, and perhaps in the long run this policy has something to recommend it: by pressing on, regardless, Downing Street may one day learn to cope even with the intricacies of an Irish extradition form; and the Hillsborough Agreement cannot be said to have 'utterly failed' if it has taught us that a Thatcher-Fitzgerald plan must be replaced by a more international one, and taught us also some of the obstacles that the latter must first overcome.

Whatever we feel about the USA we cannot but admire that country's success in creating one loyal nation out of many disparate elements, a success due largely to an education system that has kept religion out of the schools It is for America's advice and authority in this area that one

would like to see them involved in discussions about the future of the Province That there is a more general and very urgent need for an international commission can surely no longer be denied Britain's standing in the world has seriously declined over the past two decades as a result of the violence in Ulster, and especially because of the presence of British troops there, but what is really at stake is the future of the Ulster Protestants who, with their 'not-an-inch' determination to control districts which are solidly Nationalist and Catholic in feeling, and can only be retained by repressive measures and at great cost, are on a suicide course. Instead of a possibly permanent smaller territory, they want the kudos of possessing the Six Counties, and the satisfaction for two or three generations of triumphing over the Republicans a little less decisively in successive elections

These elections are strange affairs Perhaps they too should rank with Ulster 'traditions' A year ago when, after resigning *en bloc,* the Unionist M P s stood for re-election in the famous 'Ulster says NO' multiple by-election, a BBC television commentator who had been questioning voters remarked that the only issue that was bringing people to the polls was that of union with Britain; and he added, '—as in every other parliamentary election in Northern Ireland' Subsequently, when a number of Unionists were being interviewed on television, Mr Peter Robinson was asked whether he and his party wanted a referendum, and replied that in effect that was what had just been held

It is true: that is exactly what an Ulster parliamentary election is· a referendum on 'Union' with Britain or acceptance of the Republic. That is what, for the large majority of Northern Irelanders, politics is about· political parties as we know them, Conservative and Labour, Liberal or Social Democrat, progressive policies or reactionary, have meaning for only a small minority of the population; for the rest, political awareness, let alone sophistication, has been stifled by the Ulster 'traditions', among them being this fatuous trooping to the polls every few years to vote for the 'union' they already possess, and then triumphantly cheering the result. As a mechanism for blocking the development of political consciousness, even the quiet directives of the Catholic Church in the Republic can scarcely be more effective

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REAGAN AND THE TRADE WITH IRAN

by Leo Mates

RONALD Reagan's last two years in the White House are turning into a painful experience and it is increasingly unlikely that he will rid himself of the weight of the affair surrounding the arms deal with Iran Even the name given to the affair, 'Iran-gate', is ominous in itself, although the similarities with Nixon's troubles are superficial The latest turn the investigation has taken and especially the Tower Commission's report, indicates in the first place that this is only the beginning and that the scandal will mark the final stage of Reagan's term of office in the White House

Reagan, like many of his predecessors, obviously intended to use his second term as president for securing for himself a prominent place in American history He sought to achieve this primarily by his activity on the international scene The method he chose was chiefly determined by the state of the world situation, but perhaps even more by his personal ambitions and inclinations Let us not forget that in the election campaign for entry into the White House he had declared as a high priority restoration of the prestige and power of the United States in international politics The choice of objectives reflected the general mood, based on reality. The way these problems were approached in the election campaign reflected his own ideas, and was essentially naive

Reagan adopted an extremely tough and superior attitude to the Soviet Union, to the less powerful countries he promised the full re-instatement of the United States' one-time superiority. Such a foreign-policy line was at odds with the true state of affairs The Soviet Union was an equal rival — another superpower. America's attitude towards the USSR could not reasonably be based on the threat of American military power, especially after the established approximate parity of nuclear arsenals On the other hand, the Americans and particularly Reagan, were irritated by their obvious impotence vis-à-vis the 'defiant' less powerful countries such as Iran and Lebanon over the hostage issue

Nonetheless, pursuing his own inclinations, Reagan began action on the international scene with a large measure of self-assurance, in due course, however, he took a softer line to the Soviet Union He was compelled to start negotiations, a procedure which did not suit his character. This resulted in all sorts of embarrassment, most notably the confusion in Reykjavik But what we are chiefly interested in here is that other aspect — the effort to assert a traditional superiority over the less powerful countries, among them Iran and Lebanon

Reagan simply could not ignore the question of hostages After the series of heavy blows his policy had suffered in Lebanon, with heavy loss of American lives, Reagan's concern increased for the lives of the Americans who were still in the hands of their ruthless kidnappers This was unbearable for him for two reasons Firstly, it handicapped American

policy and indicated its impotence Secondly, it called into question his own credibility abroad and at home It showed him to be unable to fulfil his primary undertaking.

As can be seen from the Tower Report, the hostages' release was undoubtedly the primary and chief motive for venturing into negotiations with the circles around Rafsanjani in Tehran Reagan subsequently tried to divert attention from that topic and insisted that the motive had been an effort to establish better understanding with 'moderate' circles in Iran This departure from the chief motive ensued after the failure of the entire operation but before it became a public affair As soon as it was shown that hostages could be a good countervalue, a genuine hunt for hostages began in Beirut This trade was therefore openly condemned long before it was publicized Reagan himself denounced it publicly at the time

The attempt to influence Iranian policy through the sale of arms to Iran likewise failed It merely strengthened Iran's position in the war with Iraq, which again nettled America's Arab friends This effect was achieved in two ways First, Iran's armed power was increased through a supply of modern arms and spare parts Secondly, fearing even a modest effect of that policy, the Soviet Union was prompted to renew its own earlier attempts at a rapprochement with Iran However, when word of the arms deliveries got round, they had to be explained in some way It seemed it would be better to acknowledge as the motive the abortive diplomatic move rather than endanger American lives by instigating a hunt for more hostages

Subsequent developments followed their own logic First the Iranians themselves, for reasons of their own, disclosed Mcfarlane's and North's mission The existence of a trade in arms was thus discovered After the attempt simply to deny the whole thing failed it became necessary to explain the motives and then also to assign responsibility for the failure It was precisely the question of responsibility that was the most difficult for Reagan. It threatened to shatter his dream of going down in history as a 'great' president who had increased America's power and glory To make things worse, this happened only a short while after Reagan's *faux pas* in relations with the Soviet Union Namely, he had agreed to a summit which was not really that In Reykjavik, the two leaders should have prepared their 'real summit'. Unprepared or ill-prepared, Reagan got lost in the maze of problems and proposals and then caused the talks to break up abruptly

The dialogue was resumed later thanks to the fact that a break did not suit Gorbachev either But Reagan's failure remained as a blemish on the list of his moves. Little by little, the abortive mission in Reykjavik came to be blamed on the poor organisation in the White House This facilitated a similar explanation of the subsequent failure of the deal with Teheran. In any event, the organisation in the White House was chaotic as is shown by the Tower Report

In short, the explanation was that Reagan had known nothing about

the expedition to Teheran and arms deliveries until this was a *fait accompli* But, allegedly, not even then was he familiar with the whole truth. This explanation, too, was harmful for Reagan's reputation because in politics mistakes are more easily forgiven than incompetence For Reagan himself, anything seemed to be better than an admission that by his naive policy he had imperiled American lives, especially after the devastating losses in Lebanon

But Reagan had no inkling that the Tower Report, apart from exposing the lax organisation, would call into question the truthfulness of his contentions about what he had known of the whole affair and when he acquired such knowledge The Report, in fact, presented as the most likely version that he had approved the deal with Teheran beforehand. After this report, Reagan will necessarily await with anxiety the following reports which will not confine themselves to investigating orderliness in the administration but will examine the political and legal responsibilities

These reports, irrespective of the details of all the aspects of the affair, will undoubtedly cast a shadow reaching throughout the remainder of Reagan's term of office in the White House Public opinion polls show that the affair had already left a deep mark on American voters In the end, much harm will have been done to both Reagan's image as an aspirer to a place in history and to that of the Republican Party, i e of its candidates for the 1988 election How much the Democrats will profit from that is hard to tell. That will depend to a great extent on overall developments until the election After all, one should not forget that internal developments and well-being are the electorate's most important motive

It still remains to examine the historical context of the entire course of development around Reagan As already said, the problems arose through overall developments in the international scene in the first place Reagan's original motive was a desire to stop the weakening of American influence But neither Carter nor anybody else was to blame for the trend which had been brought about by the very logic of the balance of power in a nuclear era.

Mutually immobilized, the two superpowers have lost much of their capacity to impose their will upon others They are so afraid of each other's capability of bringing about total destruction that they have both been avoiding dangerous confrontations.

The familiar gunboat policy, applied in earlier times, has become ineffective The powerful American guns from New Jersey, when stationed off the coast of Lebanon, only harmed America while their effect on the terrorists was equal to nought From the hostage crisis in Teheran to the latest one in Lebanon the peculiar quality of nuclear potency, or rather its impotence, has been demonstrated very clearly Consequently, Reagan's assumption that American influence in the world simply depended on the American president's determination was wrong from the start Inevitably so, too, was the conclusion that by a more

energetic policy he could alter the prevailing state of affairs His lack of consideration pointed only too clearly to the inherent limitations of the superpowers' influence.

The capability of the American nuclear armoury to destroy the whole world is the cause of its impotence when it comes to situations such as the one it faced in Lebanon or in relations with Iran. Already, the upshot of the war in Vietnam had made this clear Since then, the simultaneous potency and impotence of both superpowers has been confirmed in a number of confrontations between them, and even more so in conflicts with smaller countries In that respect, the Soviet Union has fared no better than the United States

This historical tendency by which the world's two most powerful armouries cancel each other out has not yet quite penetrated the minds of people That is why Americans expect unattainable results from their leaders. This phenomenon is even more clearly apparent because the voters periodically evaluate and elect their head of state. This greatly influences the electoral results and the leaders' own fate. Carter was a great disappointment to Americans That was largely a result of domestic problems But there is no doubt that helplessness in the face of the kidnapping of US diplomats in Teheran was seen as a major defeat. It would seem to have adversely affected public opinion in any case, but coming comparatively shortly after the defeat in Vietnam it was a heavy blow indeed

Ronald Reagan was welcomed as a ray of hope that his energy and resoluteness would overcome the 'evil powers' and restore to America its position of power and awe The disillusionment at the end of Reagan's second term of office will therefore probably lead to a new search for a candidate inspiring hope that he will not involve America in fresh difficulties That is why Reagan is trying to repair the damage to a maximum degree — primarily in relations with the Soviet Union, an area where the public likewise expect some positive results in international relations The debate over medium-range missiles in Europe affords a welcome opportunity since after all their installation had been prompted, not by military needs, but by political speculation

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LIBERALS AND ANIMAL WELFARE

by Basil Goldstone

IN 1911 the minority Liberal Government found time to pass the Protection of Animals Act This followed the Dogs Act of 1906 which protected strays and defined the liability of owners This was in line with Liberal tradition when the Liberal Agricultural panel in 1977 set up the Liberal Animal Welfare Group under the chairmanship of Stanley Blow, a Kent farmer Its brief was to consider the whole range of law affecting animals and to recommend to the two chief policy making bodies of the Party, Assembly and Council, resolutions to build up a comprehensive policy It would also inform and advise MPs, peers and councillors

A start was made by a motion declaring that the human race should act as trustees for the rest of the natural world and not as its master. It called for urgent action on animal experiments, including the funding of alternative methods of research, factory farming, export of livestock, all use of chemicals in farming, other forms of pollution and the registration of dogs. This was in November 1978 and at the same time Council asked for animal welfare to be regarded as part of the Party's official policy and the responsibility should be that of the Government and not left to the hazard of Private Members' Bills

The 1984 Assembly passed a resolution calling for the prohibition of the use of animals for non-medical and non-veterinary purposes or where stress or cruelty is imposed; a review of all existing laboratory licences and the rescinding of those where it cannot be shown that no alternative method of research is possible, and official scrutiny of any experiments involving live animals including the publication of periodic reports Qualified officers of animal welfare organisations were to have the right to inspect premises licensed for animal experimentation

When the Animal (Scientific Procedures) Bill was debated only the Alliance Parties officially opposed it and voted against the Third Reading.

The uses and misuses of the land also have a bearing on animal welfare, the overwhelming success of the Common Agricultural Policy in making the European Community almost self-sufficient in foodstuffs produced in moderate climates, and indeed in producing large unwanted surpluses, has led to general re-thinking as to our deployment of land The casualties of over-production are evident in most parts of rural Britain. Hundreds of miles of hedges have been grubbed up, marshlands drained, nitrate levels become alarmingly high in waterways and the water table and excessive input of chemicals have all resulted in wholesale destruction of wild life and impoverishment of the soil Emphasis until recently has been on guaranteeing markets or intervention at high prices Future support for farmers must be to encourage use of land which will serve the community and preserve wildlife, both fauna and flora Subsidies should be paid to small family farms and for promoting higher employment Organic

farming should also be aided, together with co-operative marketing of products grown by low input methods.

Soon, much of the land now used for cereals will no longer be needed for that purpose The use of quotas enables farmers to get paid for not producing when they sell their quotas 'Set aside land' may only lead to a re-intensive use of what is left; but amongst the more constructive suggestions is a scaling down of the more intensive systems of factory farming such as battery cages for poultry and stalls for calves and sows and the keeping of livestock generally by more extensive systems For example, on suitable land five pregnant sows can be kept on an acre with cheap shelters Moreover, such methods would lead to the employment of more labour and the need for higher standards of stockmanship

Liberals will press for a ban on the export of live animals for immediate slaughter. Long journeys impose great stress on animals. This may entail the building of more slaughter houses At present, the existing system is not working well The rule that animals should be stunned before cutting is being breached frequently according to the report of FAWC When I complained that no action had as yet been taken on their excellent report, a member told me that action was in the pipeline No government statement has been made publicly to that effect Until payment by piece rates is stopped and greater care is taken on the maintenance and operation of stunning mechanisms, it seems hypocritical to press for the abolition of religious slaughter, although local councillors may oppose planning applications for poultry to be kept in city grocer shops and killed in backyards

The Liberal Party Council, which has the responsibility for formulating policy between annual assemblies, has frequently discussed animal welfare In every case, policies on the lines of those outlined above have been carried with large majorities. Together with the Party's planning panel we urge that intensive farmstock units should be treated as being industrial.

One of the most emotive issues concerning animals is that of hunting the fox with hounds A postal ballot of LAWG members showed two to one majority in favour of a ban This was followed by an excellent debate in Council which supported a ban by a very large majority However, it is unlikely that Liberals in the next Parliament would call for a Government measure. The best that can be hoped for is that facilities will be given for a Private Members' Bill on which there would be a free vote.

Liberals oppose the abolition of the dog licence. There is a need for stronger controls over dog owners who allow their pets to make nuisances of themselves by fouling pavements and playgrounds and harassing farm animals We would like to see dogs tattooed or freezemarked with a code that would enable owners to be easily traced. Dog wardens would have the primary task of advising owners Protection granted by law to dogs (such as the compulsory reporting of accidents) should, in the Liberal view, be extended to cats

Thus, the agreed statement of Alliance policy includes at least two references to animals On agriculture it calls for the phasing out of un-

necessary intensive methods of livestock farming Who will define 'unnecessary'? In the section on 'Creating a civilised society' there is a paragraph which reads

> The Alliance would establish an advisory standing committee on animal welfare This would keep under constant and rigorous examination all issues of animal welfare including experiments on live animals, the treatment of farm animals, the transportation of animals, the natural fur trade and the regulations governing the use of animals in entertainment A civilised society must care for animals as well as for human beings

Efforts will be made to strengthen the reference to a standing commission. It should have at least similar powers to the Health and Safety Executive with its own structure of Commission, Executive Inspectorate and use of local authorities

Throughout the long process of policy meetings LAWG has been in constant touch with SDP colleagues, once their group was formed. There have been no disagreements Animal welfare is only one aspect of the 'greening' of the Liberal Party We are equally concerned with wild life as with domestic, farm and laboratory animals

The Liberal Party leader, David Steel, MP, is the only Party leader to have made a major statement on this subject He called for a major enquiry by a Commission with balanced representation 'I am not satisfied that a fair balance has been struck, for example, in the Home Office's Advisory Committee on Animal Experimentation or the Ministry of Agriculture's Farm Animal Welfare Council ' He referred to the European Convention of Farm Animals which insists that animals should be treated with due regard to their behavioural and physiological requirements. 'Superior intelligence should not only give greater rights but also greater responsibilities . New laws can and should be passed to take account of the relationship between man and animals in this light ' He then quoted Julian Huxley and other scientists — 'It is the frustration of activities natural to the animal which may well be the worst form of cruelty'. He finished by stating that the action outlined must be an integral part of our (Alliance) new deal in British politics

The 1987 Assembly Committee has asked for a resolution on animal rights and welfare It is intended to table it during prime television time and to have a vigorous debate

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[Basil Goldstone fought his first parliamentary election in 1935 and may be one of the few living people to have chaired meetings for Lloyd George and Herbert Samuel President of the Liberal Party 1977/78, he has held numerous offices at regional and local levels and is Founder Convenor of the Liberal Animal Welfare Group]

Readers of *Contemporary Review* continue to express their concern over the treatment and welfare of farm animals The following statement received from *Eurofocus* (No. 11/87) is very welcome *Editor*

FARM ANIMALS: Ensuring their welfare

The European Parliament wants better living conditions for veal calves, laying hens and sows

A diet rich in iron for veal calves, straw for sows and more space for all farm animals, including laying hens, as well as better conditions for their transport, are among the requirements the European Parliament wants to impose on farmers from the Shetlands to the island of Crete

In a resolution which they adopted on 20 February 1987, the Euro-MPs have asked the European Commission to make sure that the existing Community directives on animal welfare are fully respected, and to propose new ones, which would guarantee veal calves, pigs and hens more acceptable living conditions.

Love of animals is not the only motive, the European Parliament has put forward economic and political arguments to back its demands. In a genuine common market animal welfare standards must be the same everywhere, for they determine the conditions under which meat, eggs and other animal products, which account for over half the European Community's total agricultural output, are produced.

If all Community producers are to compete on an equal footing, the animal welfare standards they must conform to must be the same for all of them The European Parliament wants national standards harmonized on the basis of the most demanding of them, so that countries with very high standards are not penalised

In order to ensure better compliance with the existing Community regulations the European Parliament wants a European inspectorate to be set up to monitor international trade in live animals, and more particularly their transport The Euro-MPs favour the introduction of special standards for the design and construction of vehicles for the transport of farm livestock. They also want journeys without food, water and rest to be limited to 24 hours

The European Parliament is also seeking an end to the close confinement of veal calves and sows and the gradual phasing out of the battery cage system for laying hens It would like the European Commission to study the effects these new standards would have on quality, agricultural surpluses and prices

THE 1988 OLYMPICS: COUNTDOWN IN A TROUBLED SOUTH KOREA

by Jeffrey Gray and Larrie Warren

ONLY twice since the resumption of the Olympic Games in 1896 have cities in developing nations been selected to host them. Mexico City hosted the 19th Olympiad in 1968, Seoul will host the 24th next year 1988, apart from sharing that questionable label of 'developing' nations, Mexico and Korea would seem to have little else in common But anyone who remembers the atmosphere of Mexico City in the months prior to the 1968 games would feel an unmistakable *déjà vu* in the streets of Seoul today There is, as one would expect, the same frenzy of transformation· workers are blasting through the city's bedrock to create new subway routes and shopping malls The Han River, massively landscaped, is fast resembling a gigantic Seine And many of the humble stalls that lined the streets are being swept aside to reveal the steel and glass department stores behind them

There is also, as in Mexico, the same escalating friction between an authoritarian regime and an increasingly vocal — largely student — opposition and as the date of the games draws nearer, one senses graver parallels to come.

Several months before the October 1968 games, Mexican university students had begun demonstrating against police brutality Their demonstrations were not initially connected with the games, but the government's response definitely was· President Gustav Díaz Ordaz had repeatedly sworn — as President Chun Doo-hwan can be heard doing today — that nothing must stand in the way of the Olympics After tanks and troops were moved onto campuses, 200,000 students, led by university rectors and professors, marched in Mexico City on August 27 When eventually the troops were withdrawn, the students staged a victory rally on October 2 at the Plaza of the Three Cultures in Tlatelcolco It was a festive but peaceful gathering until 6pm when helicopters dropped flares over the plaza, and soldiers and riot police opened fire on the crowd. Escape was cut off, many who escaped being shot or beaten were trampled by the panic-stricken mob By 7pm between 29 and 50 were dead, at least 80 injured, and hundreds jailed Among the dead was a 13-year-old boy with a bayonet wound to the head, among the wounded was Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci, who had witnessed the scene from an apartment overlooking the plaza

Could a similar scene take place in Seoul sometime between now and October 1988? There is reason to think not only that it could but that, when it does, it will be on a much larger scale.

The precedent has already been set in South Korea The 'Kwangju incident' of May 1980 lives on as one of the principal themes of today's demonstrators, who demand a government admission of guilt and a US admission of complicity, neither of which has been forthcoming.

The incident took place following the assassination of military dictator Park Chung-hee in 1979. The new government, already under the control of today's President Chun, then an army general, took nine days to crush the uprising in the city of Kwangju, killing, according to critics, 2,000 citizens (the government figure is 191) Since the South Korean armed forces cannot be deployed except through a joint command structure led by the commanding general of the United States 8th Army, it is unclear how Chun could have acted without US knowledge

Chun's behaviour since Kwangju has continued to be autocratic, and in spite of the gains his administration has made, he continues to be disliked, a fact even his officials concede His father was a soldier and his mother a farmer, occupations which traditional Koreans hold to be lower-class. Chun discourages dissent by having his men close magazines, raid exhibits, or question visitors to labour union centres — methods which lead many South Koreans to question his claim to office Plainsclothesmen are ubiquitous in downtown Seoul, their matching 'plain clothes' — plaid sport coats in spring, tan parkas in winter — making them easy to spot.

When Chun's chief opponent, Kim Dae Jung, was allowed to return to Korea in 1985 as a result of international pressure, he and Kim Young Sam, a former rival, closed ranks to form the New Korea Democratic Party (NKDP), which now holds 100 of the 276 seats in the National Assembly The NKDP's demands for democratic reform have focussed on a revision of the constitution to provide for direct presidential election rather than election by the electoral system, which, opponents insist, favours the ruling powers.

The waxing strength of the NKDP would seem to be a sign of hope for pluralism and progress through democratic channels, but the hope may be illusory As police pressure increases, so does student anger and impatience The NKDP's moderate stance with regard to the United States infuriates the radicals, whose demonstrations have taken an increasingly anti-American turn since May 1986, when Secretary of State George Schulz praised President Chun for his progress towards democracy At a rally in Kwangju, commemorating those killed by government troops, radical farmers and workers shouted down speakers of the NKDP At another demonstration, in the port city of Inchon, radicals attacked and fought with NKDP supporters As the NKDP continues to refuse to condemn the United States, the ranks of the radical groups swell.

On February 3, 1987, 24 leaders of a group called the Constitutional Assembly (CA) were arrested and charged by the Seoul District Prosecution with attempting 'to bring about a Communist revolution for the construction of a regime of the masses based on Marxist-Leninist theories'. The CA advocates armed uprising and, as an indication of its political stance, has called the NKDP 'the liberal bourgeoisie clinging to the coat tails of the imperialist United States and Japan' Until the arrests, the group managed an undertaker's shop, a printing shop, and a restaurant named, rather indiscreetly, 'Pyongyang Village Restaurant', after the capital of North Korea The CA had, according to the Prosecution, two

purposes: to fan the labourers' struggle in several cities, including Inchon and Songnam, and to provide guidance to the radical student group Minmintu — which roughly translates 'People for People's Conflict' — formed at 34 universities across the nation

Especially since last spring, when Christian leaders began speaking out and protesters' spirits were buoyed by the overthrow in February of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines, activism, whether radical or centrist, has been on the rise Tear gas often wafts through the air around the campuses, particularly those of the three largest universities But, unlike Mexico, Korea has no record of university autonomy, nor any professors or rectors likely to sacrifice their careers and possibly their lives to march in protest It is true that 54 professors of Hanshin University recently issued a statement urging the government to reflect on the death of a Seoul University student who was killed by police during torture (the student's head was held underwater, his throat pressed against the bath-tub's edge, and he suffocated); but this is a safe protest for professors to make when President Chun himself has already condemned the incident, attributing it to overzealousness in the face of the communist threat, and police have now been prohibited from holding suspects without warrants

Troops invade campuses almost weekly, and plainclothes police are a regular feature of the classroom But demonstrations continue, not always taking the form of marches and sloganeering In a three-week period last spring, three students protested by self-immolation, one of them leaping to his death from a fourth-storey window after setting himself on fire.

The milder NKDP has also continued to demonstrate, or at least to attempt to do so In late November a one-day rally was scheduled to be held in downtown Seoul to show support for proposed constitutional changes When Chun refused to grant a permit, the opposition vowed to hold the event regardless When the day arrived, no one could get near the rally site 70,000 police had cordoned off the entire centre of the city, and leaders such as Kim Dae Jung found themselves, as they have so often before, under house arrest.

For these and other government actions, Chun invokes not only the catch-all of 'national security' but also the coming 24th Olympiad Chun's place in history will be assured by a successful Olympic Games in a beautified and modernized city, now the fourth largest in the world. Moreover, he sees the games as a major step in Korea's economic rivalry with Japan, no one has forgotten the tremendous economic boost which Japan enjoyed when it hosted the games in 1964 Chun's opponents also see the importance of the Olympics they know the president cannot afford to have the games marred by domestic turmoil. And they know that the world is watching Whether that scrutiny protects protesters is open to question (it did not protect the student who recently died under torture), what is certain is that students have become bolder over the past year — marching in the streets, circulating petitions, and occupying key buildings such as the USIS library in downtown Seoul

The Asian Games last summer were, as all of South Korea seemed to

sense, a dry run for the Olympics; there was a great surge of pride, not only because of the number of gold medals Korean athletes won but even more because of the nation's now proven capacity to stage such an event.

But the Asian Games were a dry run in another sense also: Chun's forces showed they were ready for any possible disruption A bomb went off at Kimpo Airport on the eve of the games, but the blame was quickly laid on North Korea, and no other mishaps occurred People, especially students, were questioned and sometimes detained at subway and train stations, and plainclothes police were out in force

There is little assurance, however, that the Olympic Games will go as smoothly as their dress rehearsal, given another year of mounting political unrest Confucian authoritarianism, backed by enormous propaganda, seems to be working well in the north, but South Koreans, with their burgeoning economy and access to western goods and ideas, are making it plain that they want something other than the fierce militaristic style that has been the mold of South Korean leaders since the Japanese occupation ended and Syngman Rhee took over in 1948

That the national assembly has set up a committee to draft amendments to the constitution is a sign that Chun recognizes the need for compromise Chun had long opposed this resolution; he finally approved it when the NKDP dropped its demand for the release of 1,600 political prisoners

Mere amendments, though, even if they materialize, are not going to satisfy the dissidents And far from capitulating — whether to students, labour, church or NKDP — Chun is sure to continue to insist that protests undermine national security and stain the country's image as it heads toward its moment of highest visibility in 1988 He will continue to drown campus demonstrations in tear gas Nationalism and anti-American sentiment, in a country where from 40,000 to 60,000 troops are stationed, will run higher as the countdown to the games approaches And to complicate matters, no one knows what North Korea — rebuffed as co-host of the games — will do to disrupt (So far the only disruption has been the spreading of the rumour that a half million South Korean prostitutes with AIDs are preparing to infect foreign athletes)

More bloodshed in South Korea seems inevitable And one fears that, as with Díaz in Mexico, troops will shed blood with near impunity In 1968, nothing was allowed to stand in the way of the games The riots were hushed up in the same way that concrete walls were built around the poor *barrios* so that tourists would be spared the sight of them. Olympic President Avery Brundage remarked at the time, 'I was at the ballet last night, and we heard nothing of the riots '

What, after all, does the world remember of the Mexican Olympics? One image stands out. black athletes Tommy Smith and John Carlos on the victory stand, raising their gloved fists to protest racial injustice at home Indeed, there were other struggles in 1968, including the demonstrations in Chicago and Paris What occurred in Mexico — leaving aside

its impact on Mexican writers and intellectuals — was lost among other headlines

And what will be remembered of the Seoul Olympics remains to be seen But if lives are lost on the eve of the games — as there is every indication they will be — one hopes that this time they will not be so easily forgotten and that the world will know the circumstances, bearing in mind that, even at this late date, it may be necessary to find another host country

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The August issue of *Contemporary Review* includes *Satellites for Peace* by Keith Suter (held over from the July issue), *Is Radiation always Dangerous?* by J H Fremlin, *The Return of Leonel Brizola* by Martin C Needler and *A Paradise Lost The Neo-Romantic Imagination in Britain 1935-55* by Philip Vann

A FULL LIFE FOR THE HANDICAPPED

THERE are approximately 500 million physically and mentally handicapped people living in the world today Only 150 million of these receive the necessary rehabilitative assistance National bodies as well as the supra-national Rehabilitation International Organization are making great efforts to expand and improve the support schemes for the handicapped and opportunities for re-integrating them into society and into occupational life. This aim was also served by the 4th European Regional Conference of Rehabilitation International, which took place in Berlin from 24 to 26 February 1987. The focus of the discussion was on occupational rehabilitation as the decisive condition for equal and active involvement in society

Panorama DDR interviewed Professor Klaus Peter Becker, National Secretary of Rehabilitation International and Chairman of the GDR Rehabilitation Society, to learn about GDR experiences in this field

Editor

Panorama Why is it that so much attention is paid to the integration of handicapped people into occupational life as part of overall rehabilitation?

Prof Becker The aim of rehabilitation is to integrate or re-integrate handicapped people into society, i e into the community of the non-handicapped Occupational employment is particularly important in the context of personality development, involvement in the process of labour, as well as cooperation and communication with colleagues In order to be effective projects must not only exist as a theory on paper, or as an individual concern but must be supported by the respective governments

In the German Democratic Republic the Labour Code and the decree on career guidance and the application for an apprenticeship provide for the occupational employment of the handicapped and open the largest possible number of trade and vocations for them

Economic security and a sense of belonging resulting from appropriate care and support, recognition of performances and active participation in society provide favourable conditions for achieving this objective In the GDR we are in a position to guarantee all handicapped children and adults comprehensive care, regardless of the cost involved The various sectors such as medicine, education, psychology and the economy work closely together in the interests of the handicapped

Panorama How is occupational rehabilitation organized in the GDR?

Prof Becker Children handicapped from birth or with handicaps acquired in very early childhood are looked after in the kindergarten or at school — some of them alongside normal children and others in special facilities — and are provided with a good general education which prepares them for vocational training or employment. For the blind and

those with seriously impaired vision, training is available in 12 trades The hard of hearing may choose from 18, the deaf from 20 and the physically handicapped from 35 trades. In addition, it is possible for handicapped persons to become skilled workers in one sector of a trade or to attend technical school courses

Support and assistance is also ensured for people who, during their occupational employment, were handicapped as a result of an industrial accident It is a question of enabling them, at rehabilitation centres, with the help of technological aids, to continue working in their trade or to train in another

The opportunity to work is a fundamental human right and, in the GDR, this right is guaranteed to all citizens alike There are approximately 45,000 sheltered workplaces for people suffering from the most severe and serious handicaps. The number has risen to ten times the amount in 1972

Panorama The GDR has been a member of Rehabilitation International since 1964 What is its contribution to the work of this organization?

Prof Becker Rehabilitation International is a world-wide organization, with 77 member countries It coordinates the activities of more than 50 international associations catering for the needs and interests of handicapped people The GDR is represented by groups of experts who discuss, at regular intervals, questions pertaining to medical, educational, social or occupational rehabilitation, within the framework of seven permanent commissions Other countries take an interest in our experience and activities because many of them do not have such a comprehensive government rehabilitation programme This was evident back in 1966 when the first international meeting on vocational rehabilitation in agriculture was held in the GDR And again, at this year's regional conference in the GDR capital, the experts from abroad were eager to learn about the results we have achieved The congress reviewed our achievements to date during the United Nations decade for the disabled (1982 to 1992). The event provided a forum for comparing notes, and fresh impetus to consider occupational rehabilitation in other regions of the world

We also had an opportunity to show how we have improved our rehabilitation system During a number of excursions organized for the participants in the conference, they visited a centre for mentally handicapped children, a diagnosis laboratory in Berlin's Sports and Leisure Centre, the cardiovascular centre of the Charité university hospital complex as well as other rehabilitation facilities in the GDR capital

On balance, the visitors from abroad praised the GDR's efforts to create a coherent system of rehabilitation, ranging from the earliest possible registration of handicapped children

We, for our part, profited from the opportunity to ask experts from other countries about their national projects and to cultivate mutual contacts and exchanges of information

CINEMA: A QUARTERLY REVIEW

by David Shipman

IT'S now a year since *A Room With a View* was first shown. During that time I'm sure you've been waiting for me to pronounce upon it I've read the book, which is more than I can say for anyone else, including my friends (They're going to be quite important in the polemic that follows). To be accurate, I'm the only one who seems to have gone back to the novel after a movie generally conceded to be 'pretty but empty' I saw it with two people who have read every word that Forster wrote, as bewildered as I was that this fraud has been winning prizes all over the globe The New York critics thought it 'Best Film', Hollywood's Academy voted it 'Best Screenplay from Another Source' and in London it was 'Best Film' for the *Evening Standard,* whose selectors were — I name the guilty men — Alexander Walker of that paper, Philip French of *The Observer,* Barry Norman of the BBC and Iain Johnstone of *The Sunday Times* One of these gentlemen found this thing 'as near to perfection as it's possible to get', or so I learnt from a large ad in *The Observer* also boasting all the BAFTA and Oscar nominations Also quoted was Bernard Levin, obviously in an attempt to make him look a dunce· 'The most over-rated phenomenon since the South Sea Bubble'.

In an era when nine out of ten movies are aimed at the popcorn crowd it's only too easy to welcome a seemingly civilised piece like *A Room With a View Hannah and her Sisters* is another such. As I wrote in these columns it's a tolerable entertainment. But the best of the year? Twenty years ago it wouldn't have been best of the week.

The producer Ismael Merchant and director James Ivory, perpetrators of *A Room With a View,* have already offered feeble versions of Henry James, *The Europeans* and *The Bostonians* Where might they not stop? They already have *Maurice* waiting for us, but few consider that one of Forster's major works He refused to allow his novels to be filmed during his lifetime, and now to set beside David Lean's execrable *A Passage to India* is this travesty If a film-maker has the right to take liberties with his source material and the result is so inferior (if only of our memories of it), then we have the right to look at it again to try to decide what attracted him to it In the case of *A Passage to India* and Lean that is obvious I couldn't understand why Kubrick turned Trackeray's *Barry Lyndon* into a film, since he removed its point (its wit and satiric thrust), replacing it with lush views and anachronisms Equally clearly the *raison d'être* of Forster's tale has been mislaid Oh, Ruth Prawer Jhabvala has kept *almost* everything in what must be one of the most insensitive screenplays ever penned — including several conversational asides, which have become distracting incidents in the film's narrative She couldn't or wouldn't reshape the material, and since Ivory knows nothing of such matters the film just sits there, like cold suet pudding (Despite my fondness for *Shakespeare Wallah* and *Heat and Dust* I find no evidence in

his work that he knows how to fashion a movie; he's another of those who believes that all you do is point a camera at the players and join up the resultant pieces in the cutting-room) The soundtrack bursts with Puccini, which may be right for Italy in 1908, but it's wrong for Lucy, characterised by Forster as a lover of Beethoven, Schumann and Mozart. I doubt whether she would have liked the ripe sentimentality of Puccini. The book concerns a group of people inclined to parade their parameters of culture, yet opera is never mentioned

What of Lucy? Helena Bonham-Carter is a disaster. She's relatively inexperienced — and bless her, she's done no harm to me, but since she has no expression and cannot convey thought she cannot come near to Lucy, who had been born in the Old Queen's reign and is looking for a meaning to the new century She is attracted to the Emersons because they are Socialists (but not in the film), Cecil spends an afternoon explaining 'psychology' to her, her mother doesn't like the idea of her leaving home, to 'mess with a typewriter and latch-keys'. That turns up in the dialogue, but gone is the crucial corollary· 'and agitate and scream, and be carried off kicking by the police ' Either the piece is about Lucy's perceptions at a time of change or it isn't about anything She thought herself a radical (also gone) and artistic it takes a trip to Florence and engagement to Cecil for her to realise what Forster gently allows us to know, that those around her are in their varying ways poseurs

Some of the players — Judi Dench, Daniel Day-Lewis, Simon Callow — have realised this, but the usually reliable Denholm Elliott doesn't appear to know what he's doing with the elder Emerson Confronted with equally difficult characters (in the book, Ms Prawer Jhabvala does nothing to 'explain' them) Maggie Smith and Julian Sands do stock jobs as 'spinster' and puppyish hero In neither book nor film does the younger Emerson return with the others from Fiesole, but Ivory has no justification for making him exult in the rain on his face, as if he was Gene Kelly or some Sixties flower child

Does this matter? Yes, I think, a great deal Originally the circuits refused to touch *A Room With a View,* but it has since made a lot of money for them Cinemagoers and the industry listened to the critics — and it's not just a question of Fleet Street This apology for a movie is a 'classic' the world over So what of me and my friends?

Well, for over thirty years I've been either 'in' publishing or writing for a living I've moved in the world depicted by Harold Pinter in *Betrayal* That's the one about the couple who discuss the past in Act One Scene One, and then we see what they've just talked about, moving progressively backward in time So it's not as if we're panting to know what happens next The situation is one prolonged cry of Hampstead angst, without wit, passion or point How does a play as deeply untalented as this get performed, get filmed? The film version of it turned up on television while I was still depressed from *A Room With a View* What sort of state are we in when Pinter's plays are set texts in schools? What sort of country is this in which the plays of Alan Ayckbourne and the

television doodlings of Dennis Potter, for God's sake, are major cultural events? And you can add Mr Stoppard and Mr Simon Gray, a couple of whose plays turned up in the BBC's apalling 'Screen Two' series of prestigious movies made television. I've often thought myself lucky in that writing about cinema I don't have to pronounce on these people In my cinema history I did make it clear that I was unimpressed by some of the contributions some of these people had made to movies — and such others touted names as Lindsay Anderson and Joseph Losey. My editor didn't think I went far enough There was agreement by all the other people who read the ms till it went out to a freelance editor, whose comments on this particular chapter indicated a deep loathing of the text and of me Fair enough My credentials were elsewhere in the book, but they wouldn't do for this column

No writer (not even me) can flail out at the gods of our culture and get away with it, unless he has something to put in its place I despaired, till I came across a couple of under-rated Hollywood ventures, *Sweet Liberty* and *'About Last Night '*, both worth a dozen *Betrayals,* both doing admirably what they set out to do, to divert audiences for a couple of hours I'll come back to them in my next column, because they're not really strong enough as artefacts in my argument A moderately good version of Shakespeare or Tchekov on screen might have served. But as it happened I saw *Enemy* One Saturday night on Channel 4 You may have caught it too if you didn't, you may not have heard of it, because it wasn't bought for British distribution It's a Turkish film about poverty I didn't want a Third World movie on this subject to use in my cry of protest against *A Room With a View* and the other rubbish cramming our screens and stages, but it presents itself eloquently, as directed in 1979 by Zeki Okten from a screenplay by Yilmaz Guney — who was instructing Okten from jail

Guney made *Yol,* which is a great movie. I don't see that *Enemy* is inferior Those of you who have seen *Yol* will know that it's not only about the deprived and dispossessed Nor, really, is *Enemy,* though the title refers to all those around us, and indeed the seeds of weakness and indecision within In other words, life is pretty hard, chum, and you've got to be strong to get through it The enemy is also Turkey itself and not just the 'authorities' — though goodness knows, Guney dislikes and distrusts them But if that was all that Guney was saying he would have made a tract, and a pessimistic tract at that What he has done is to give us a dense, detailed movie which has love and hope for its subject, a man of some education who happens to be unemployed Guney felt that there was nothing cinema could not do, which was why he dared, moving both here and *Yol* into allegorical regions With his death we lost a marvellous film-maker

Neither film is a protest at the way things are, but both long for the way things should be That's the difference between Guney and de Sica. I'll admit it I was an impressionable age when I saw *Bicycle Thieves, Miracle in Milan* and *Umberto D,* but I've seen them since If you move

on from there to Renoir, Bergman, Bunuel, Satjayit Ray and Antonioni (genuine enigmas instead of fake ones) you're not likely to be much interested in the way Shaftesbury Avenue reflects our society If you've seen the great Japanese anti-war films you're unlikely to want to attend one of Mr Pinter's birthday parties Isn't there room for both? Yes, of course, just as you might want to go to Sophocles can night and Feydeau the next What is so detestable about Britain's current (i e since the mid-Seventies, or was it ever thus?) contribution to cinema (and theatre, and certainly television) is its obsession with parochial, *chi chi* South-of-Watford trivia Removing the little political content of Forster's novel — and I don't care that the team which made it consists of foreigners, since they live here — is only symptomatic of the rot

Am I saying that we should be making movies denouncing war and unemployment? Bloody hell, yes — especially when we have a Government apparently deeply committed to both, inasmuch as I believe the retention of nuclear weapons to be an obscenity I've also just seen Kinoshita's 1982 *Children of Nagasaki,* about the effects of the Bomb dropped there in 1945, and the statistics alone make you unable to speak for an hour after leaving the cinema Oh yes, and that's another important film unseen in this country (except at the NFT) Maybe the Bomb and its after-effects couldn't sustain drama in any civilised way, but doesn't anyone care about the unemployed — all these self-proclaimed Leftist dramatists? There are some honourable exceptions, like Ken Loach and his colleagues and disciples, capable of generating as much anger in us as there is in themselves But is Loach such a pet of Britain's newspaper critics that his films are now winning Oscars in Hollywood?

The playwright Alan Bleasdale was recently quoted as saying that Mrs Thatcher had made him a political writer I warmed to him, but his film *No Surrender* is no good either Seen on Channel 4's otherwise admirable 'Film on Four' series, it turned out to be the usual crooks-and-enigma 'thriller', no better for being set in a working-class cabaret on New Year's Eve Maybe that's what we deserve — *No Surrender, A Room With a View* and *Betrayal* Since the Government, by withdrawing subsidies and changing the tax laws has effectively killed the British film industry and discouraged the Americans from working here, these may stand as its epitaphs

Literary Supplement

QUARTERLY FICTION REVIEW

by Rosalind Wade

Change Maureen Duffy Methuen £10 95 *Moon Tiger* Penelope Lively. Deutsch £9 95 *The Selkirk Strip* Ferdinand Mount Hamish Hamilton £10 95 *They Fly Forgotten* Malcolm Lynch Constable £8 95 *In the Middle of the Wood* Iain Crighton Smith Gollancz £9 95

With so many disturbing and important topics waiting to be discussed in contemporary fiction, it is perhaps surprising that novelists continue to turn to the past for inspiration and ideas Several of the late Spring publications explore states of war — and fairly recent conflagrations at that — the Falklands and World War II As a theme, these present difficulties 1939 and 1982 are well within the memory of living people and so offer a stern challenge to the fictional historian, added to which many readers may be bored by the prevailing nostalgia which seems to dominate our TV screens Yet these obstacles are not insuperable as is demonstrated by two excellent new novels with a generally similar approach, and both covering the years 1939-1945

In *Change,* Maureen Duffy resorts to the well-tried narrative device of presenting an identical situation through the eyes of a varied assortment of characters For authenticity, she has consulted memoirs, published and unpublished letters as well as official histories of the times We have the vulnerable young girl, Hilary, emerging from the schoolroom into a world vastly different from that which she might have anticipated the middle-aged Daphne, obliged to cope with unexpected separation from her husband and a young Pole who has thrown in his lot with the armed forces of his adoptive country A grimmer note is struck with the inclusion of a serving Brigadier's day-to-day diary written during a particularly intimidating episode All in all, it is an effective kaleidoscope, skillfully blended with stacatto scenes and monologues, yet the thought persists that Maureen Duffy's return to her more dynamic and topical approach, as for instance in *Gor-Saga,* will be very welcome

Penelope Lively, while covering some of the same ground as *Change,* has a very different approach, for in *Moon Tiger* she concentrates on one main character, Claudia Hampton, first encountered near to death in a geriatric nursing home The scene is familiar, yet it is soon apparent that the sick woman is no ordinary nonentity babbling about her past to patient nurses, but was 'someone', as the doctor astutely concludes after a quick glance through the medical records, ' . published books articles served in the Middle East typhoid, miscarriage unmarried ' thus do such cryptic phrases become landmarks in a purposeful professional career

This could be lack-lustre but is far from being so, for as the memories flood in during lucid interludes, the curtain is drawn back to reveal the secrets of an eventful life Claudia was an 'historian' as well as a political journalist, acutely aware of the pitfalls and deceptions inherent in that hotly debated corner of the literary field How fact reconciles with recollection is one of the numerous sub-themes developed in *Moon Tiger* Like many war-correspondents posted to Egypt, Cairo became for a time the centre of Claudia's world, for it was there she encountered Tom Southern, perhaps the real love of her life

apart from her brother Gordon, whose raffish, earthy child-relationship was so strongly to affect her world

By Tom she was to be given a child to care for — only the foetus failed to survive — and it was left to another man to provide the daughter, Lisa, with whom she maintained an uneasy, though affectionate relationship There are many other facets to the mosaic, as for instance the refugee boy, Lazlo, who is permitted to live in Claudia's flat for a while and share her life generally All fit together as the moment of death approaches, like the pieces of a brain-teasing jig-saw puzzle, taking longer in years and hard-won experience than the comparatively short novel might suggest Its final strength lies in the pages of italicised diary jottings written by Tom shortly before his death in action These authentic-seeming extracts put the final touches of conviction to the story, with their timely reminder that the dangers and brutishness of the battle-front are at least as formidable as the emotions occasioned by personal frustration and loss

With *The Selkirk Strip* we come forward in time to the grey, gritty period of the Falklands conflict Ferdinand Mount is a political commentator for the *Spectator* and *Daily Telegraph* and Director of Mrs Thatcher's Policy Unit, so with this experience his new and fourth novel might be expected to have politics for a background, as indeed it has Recounted through the eyes and ears of a middle-aged civil servant, one Aldous Cotton — 'Gus' — the unfolding plot hinges on the arrival of his wife's cousin, Alan Breck Stewart, whom Gus has not previously met Alan, who is something of a mystery figure with an uncertain past, soon establishes himself in the Cotton household and others which form a small social circle in 'gentrified' Islington. The observation of these trendy progressives is acute and witty, the interplay brilliant and the interiors haunting in their dreariness and lack of style One of the most memorable scenes, though somewhat out of step with a generally cynical and light-hearted approach, is the death of a child in hospital, daughter of one of the families involved This episode apart, the length and closeness of the novel's structure tend to have a somewhat soporific effect

However, the 'Selkirk Strip' of the title provides a welcome diversion halfway on A remote strip of land, somewhere in Africa, is clearly intended to be a prototype for the Falkland Islands A 'foreign power' has invaded it and the government of the day reluctantly, though by popular demand, despatches a task force to deal with the intruder From then on the deeper purpose of *The Selkirk Strip* emerges, namely, to examine the effect of an unexpected and unachronistic war on a nation grown accustomed to 'peace' Much that is valuable is said about Fortress Falkland and similar skirmishes An unexpected twist is Alan Breck Stewart's secret involvement at the very heart and core of the dispute, which causes embarrassment to Gus in his professional capacity as a civil servant, even though he personally does not feel himself borne along on the wave of national patriotism What mars this otherwise interesting analysis of events, rather too near to our times to be viewed with detachment, is the unrepresentative nature of Gus's commentary, indoctrinated though we are to the persistent voice of the minority

An altogether more robust approach is apparent in Malcolm Lynch's second novel, *They Fly Forgotten* Here we are back in the much-debated twenties, when battles of a very different kind were being waged between schoolmasters and pupils, no less bloody and divisive and in some respects even more devastating because of the potential damage to youthful hearts and minds

It is a familiar theme — the idealistic young teacher bent on doing good to a gaggle of juvenile toughs who are equally determined to sabotage any attempts to improve their situation

The scene is Manchester, where Irish settlers once provided a nucleus of the working population and stayed on despite deteriorating conditions Many newly qualified teachers eschewed Uncoats School in favour of greener pastures Yet Thomas Davies, much to the indignation of his incredibly awful widowed mother, decided to throw in his lot with the incipient miscreants at Uncoats, a crumbling place, somehow continuing to function in a climate very foreign to our contemporary 'caring' society Yet it had attracted to itself a motley staff who were dedicated and positive in their approach, if not formally trained and equipped for so onerous a task

The headmaster played the violin in leisure moments the eccentric Miss Cowgill had the boys singing in times of stress the unconventional Mr MacGregor organised PT and games — such was the trio of seasoned survivors, and Thomas Davies soon realised that he must impose his own brand of discipline on the unruly mob or go the way of previous 'new' staff This he achieved, with a repertoire of mild sarcasm, bullying and creative projects Eventually, the declaration of World War II drastically altered the future for many of the pupils — in most cases for the better The same was true for Thomas himself, with interesting assignments and postings, even though personal relationships failed to prosper for this abnormally self-sufficient young man, although a mature marriage was finally achieved, and the past, in retrospect, had its compensations, as when a former pupil, one of the least promising, called to express his grateful thanks Well spoken and smartly dressed, the young man seemed set to make a fortune in 'demolition' It could all have been the mixture as before, but Malcolm Lynch possesses the skill to pack into a short novel so much documentary detail and strong characterisation that the impression is of both background and events being completely new and unexplored

With *In the Middle of the Wood* we are yet again in familiar territory and it is fortunate that like Malcolm Lynch, Iain Crighton Smith has the experience and ability to shed new light onto a well worn theme, for how often, in recent years, have we accompanied fictional characters through the various stages of delusion, violence and finally incarceration in some grim mental institution? In *In the Middle of the Wood* Ralph Simmons' breakdown is due to overwork Only those who have experienced the remorseless treadmill of earning a living by filling blank pages with a daily quota of words will be aware of the problem facing Ralph

> The strange, terrible tiredness that was like a weight on him these shapes that would not move these characters that would not obey but sat at their cold chess games the barren script, the becalmed drama .

Simmons is a young, middle-aged scribe living in a remote hamlet in Scotland which might at first sight seem ideal for fostering the creative urge When the novel opens he is tottering on the verge of paranoia, suffering from the routine obsession that everyone is plotting against him including his wife, Linda The hard-pressed man deserves sympathy for his lukewarm, childless marriage and the constant presence of his eighty year old mother-in-law, suffering from bunions and kidney trouble, and soon it is all too obvious that Ralph Simmons is heading for the nearest psychiatric ward

At this point Iain Crighton Smith adopts a bold narrative course by switching backwards in time to the Simmons' recent family holiday in Yugoslavia Here

is a little cameo on its own, a caustic and often hilarious account of what goes on in the average 'package' It is not surprising that the exigencies of hotel life and excursions which are exhausting and often tedious with the gallant octogenarian tagging along, prompt Stephen to count the minutes until the plane takes off for home

> This was an indecipherable land, strange and alien The faces presented to him were masks though behind them must seethe the common emotions, griefs and joys Ralph felt that he was returning home in complete ignorance

From there, we cut to Ralph Simmons waking up in a mental ward angrily demanding his wife's presence although the hour is long past midnight Soon he is under drugs and during the long, slow rehabilitation period there are the clashes with doctors and nurses and the weird misfits who form his circle of companions in misfortune Loyal support from a bewildered wife, misguided attempts to hasten the cure by too much self-analysis and in the end a loving reunion with Linda, and perhaps a new way of life opening out before him for, as he says, 'reality was what one had to cling on to ' Two impressions linger what bores the mentally obsessed can become, and disbelief in the final 'happy' outcome 'At the moment it did not bother him if he never wrote again ' Perhaps in any case he would not be able to, an author *manqué* to the end of his days? There lurks the sting in the tail!

Also Received

The Windeater Keri Hulme Hodder & Stoughton £10 95

Already famous as the winner of the 1985 Booker prize for fiction with *The Bone People,* Keri Hulme offers in *The Windeater* some garnerings of the years as well as new pieces They are nothing if not original, tense and vivid, presented in various unconventional styles, (see 'A Tally of the Souls of Sheep') All are worthwhile, some are difficult to assimilate but valuable as a further example of Keri Hulme's remarkable talent

Lord Hamlet's Castle Hunter Steele Deutsch £9 95

It would be easy to dismiss *Lord Hamlet's Castle* as a mere strip cartoon in which Hunter Steele takes an irreverent look at the most famous character in the most frequently performed play in international theatre, yet there is rather more to it than that The author is concerned to work out the realities of life in a primitive fortress of the period and glosses over nothing — from the audacious, overfed rats to the sexual deviations of the inmates He seeks to offer reasons for what to many theatregoers down the ages have seemed inexplicable actions on the part of Hamlet and Ophelia True, it is presented as an outrageous comedy, yet leaves much to consider

The Last Heiress Tessa Barclay W H Allen £11 95

Tessa Barclay turns for her background and plot to a period some six decades ago To read of the problems for women in the twenties is to marvel that circumstances were so different although so much the same *The Last Heiress* is the final novel of a trilogy, yet can be enjoyed on its own as the story of an untutored, unsophisticated girl who inherits a financial empire

Iain Crighton Smith was awarded a Travelling Scholarship at the Society of Authors prize-giving ceremony on 9 June 1987

NON FICTION REVIEWS

IRON LADIES IN BLUE

The Iron Ladies Beatrix Campbell Virago £4 95

Women are the backbone of most political organisations Relegated in the past to running the machine and making tea, they have to be abler and tougher than their male counterparts to enter Parliament and become Ministers Three images come to mind — my Agent from a middle-class Cheshire background drilling me on the parade ground of my Constituency and disciplining any sloppiness through five successive election victories before I decided to quit Parliament, my Minister, Barbara Castle, to whom I was PPS, punctilious about her appearance and never losing what men call femininity, while clobbering opponents and colleagues alike, and finally Golda Meier lecturing our parliamentary delegation as she chain-smoked and the comment of a colleague 'as tough as old boots'. Like the Iron Lady herself they were all products of a male dominated society.

The rank and file appeared more loyal and less questioning than men. Frequently, their passions and prejudices were more strident and their world more closed than those of men Less exposed to the collectivism of male Trade Unionism or to military service, their sense of snobbery more apparent, my prejudices from years of canvassing leads me now to challenge middle-class ladies when defending in Court on the basis of an authoritarian stereotype

That perception is both reinforced and challenged in Beatrix Campbell's historical and more scientifically based examination of Conservative women *The Iron Ladies.*

'I am not a woman, I am a Conservative' was Edwina Currie's curious claim It is the key to the non-feminist role of politically active Conservative women

In *The Iron Ladies* the history of the Primrose League is traced It provided a mass base for the Conservative Party One quotation from Lady Montague stands out —

> Into the vexed question of franchise I will not enter . . we are not called upon to discuss it now our political work . . . ought to be kept scrupulously clear of all such debatable ground.

What developed was an acceptance of society's norms of femininity and family life with a political outlet and influence reinforcing the very State and Party which denied women true emancipation The paradox was that it brought masses of their sex into the political arena It distanced itself from the unemployed, the cooperative movement or changes in the marriage laws The irony was the adoption of 'Emmeline Pankhurst as a Prospective Parliament Conservative Candidate and the First Lady at Number Ten'

The Iron Ladies reminds us that male Trade Unionists mistrusted working women as undercutting wages William Thompson described their 'sexual Toryism' Tory women were shocked at radical ideas on free love Socialism threatened their security based on the traditional family contract. Strikes were perceived as causing women to bear the brunt of suffering Imperialism and Racism were engraved in an almost paranoid fear of anything different. Paternalism was their protection By contrast Labour women clashed violently with their male counterparts on non-economic issues such as birth control

That paranoia manifested in the hanging and flogging image reflecting a fear of men from a different social or racial background and a transference of sexual repression to demands for physical punishment In this they clashed with the Conservative leadership not least in the Sixties

In the post-war world Labour women were demanding equal pay The 'Housewives league' was reflecting consumerism and anti-Welfare State and waged work It reflected the neo-Thatcherite view of women as wives of the earners in a free enterprise society It speaks volumes that Tory women fought as housewives not as women To quote the author, 'the housewife became the heroine of Conservative populism'

The moral crusades of Mary Whitehouse and Victoria Gillick represent the crisis of a society in which emotive issues of class, race and sex have come to the fore However, the myth of women as reactionaries on non 'Socialist' economic issues is exploded in 1985 and 1986 surveys on defence, contraception, abortion, pornography and tax cuts versus social spending Indeed women were more inclined to the left in 1986 both in the UK and the USA This fortifies my view that not enough emphasis has been placed on the changing attitudes of politically active women Beatrix Campbell's conclusion.

> Conservative women's politics are a tactical calculation of the limits of challenge — a pessimistic estimate of the risk of calumny no victim she can often appear coy yet strong She feels she is a prisoner of her fate women are everywhere in a weak position and yet are not weak Women are subordinate yet are strong That describes Tory women

Older women may feel that only in the traditional framework of family and natural hierarchy with conventional role models is their security assured Beatrix Campbell is over keen to seek common cause with her Thatcherite sisters since the Left's 'sexual Toryism' is as deep as male chauvinism in Tory society

It should not be forgotten that before women had the vote their male counterparts deferred to the Squire and the Tory working man did not start with Alf Garnett He has been as much a part of the British political tradition as the double deference of the ladies who told me 'At least Conservatives are Gentlemen'

PAUL ROSE

ROMAN CATHOLIC MORAL THEOLOGY

The Making of Moral Theology A Study of the Roman Catholic Tradition John Mahoney Clarendon Press, Oxford £32 50

No short review, however expert, could do justice to the thought-provoking profundity of this book Professor Mahoney can fairly be regarded as the supreme spokesman of Catholic moral theology in this country And what a spokesman! On page after page he states the orthodox position — with a difference

I had the privilege of attending his inaugural lecture as Frederick Maurice Professor of Moral Theology at Kings College London. The Principal recalled that Frederick Maurice himself had been dismissed in the nineteenth century for unsettling the minds of students 'Today', he continued, 'a Professor would hardly be appointed to a Chair who did *not* unsettle the minds of students' He implied that for this reason, if for no other, the Rev Dr Mahoney was well qualified for his new position

Will his latest work unsettle many Catholics, student or otherwise? In somewhat coded fashion he leaves us with the impression that St Augustine (with

his Dark Strain of Pessimism) whose enormous influence he is at pains to emphasise did as much harm as good to Catholic and other Christian thought He does not say in plain terms that the personal decision of Pope Paul VI to issue *Humani Vitae* condemning all artificial birth control was a regrettable mistake But he leaves us in no doubt that a decision like that, taken by a Pope entirely on his own, was not likely to recur

He bluntly reminds us of the changes in Roman Catholic teaching over the centuries and in recent decades It has changed markedly in many respects — as in the field of biblical studies, in the possibility of salvation for unbelievers outside the Catholic Church, in ecumenism, in the matter and form of the Sacrament of Orders, in recognising the moral possibility in marriage of birth-control through periodic abstinence from intercourse

It is true that in the nineteenth century Newman had observed 'in a higher world it is otherwise, but here below to live is to change, and to be perfect to have changed often' Newman had done much to popularise the idea of development in the Catholic position, but Newman had not been in a position of official power Many Catholics still turn to the extremes summed up in the hymn, 'Change and decay in all around I see O thou who changest not, Abide with me' Dr Mahoney says that the attitude of the Church to change 'often appears to be at best ambivalent, and at worst studiedly uncaring'

But he sees a better future, 'At least in its official teaching, the Church is becoming aware that change is here to stay, and that every age is an age of transition That, after all, is what the "pilgrim" Church means' There is no doubt that in his loyal and discreet fashion Dr Mahoney will remain a powerful agent of change

In this and his other recent books, he reveals an impressive amount of up-to-date medical knowledge He discusses with confidence though never tempted to over-simplify, the problems of birth-control, abortion, and embryos One would like to feel that here, and in regard to the latest horror, 'AIDS', he is specially consulted by our Catholic leaders I should be surprised if that were not so

FRANK LONGFORD

A LOST JOURNEY IN FAITH

Faith, Sex, Mystery A Memoir by Richard Gilman Simon and Schuster £12 95

The author describes his conversion to Roman Catholicism at the age of twenty-nine from a non-strict Judaism which was ethnic rather than spiritual That point in youth had passed where life appears to stretch to earthly eternity He had a longing for moral perfection and an after life The book which started him on his quest was 'The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy' by Etienne Gilson, a French philosopher who had been teaching at a Canadian University Gilson had written a sentence that meant more to him than any other 'Christianity put the end of man beyond the limits of this earthly existence' He was stimulated by the novels of Graham Greene and Francois Mauriac He came to see that reason and mystery might be reconciled

Some savage swipes are made at popular evangelists, those 'strident and cocksure salesmen of the Lord' To Gilman they appear to regard religion as an anodyne As he advanced in faith he came to find things more difficult 'The real enemy was stasis, the arm flung across the eyes to keep out the altered view' Though life became more significant he found it harder to live This recalls Emerson's conviction, 'People wish to be settled, only in so far as

they are unsettled is there any hope for them '

This is an honest book, sometimes to the point of embarrassment In his foreword, Richard Gilman discusses what may be left out in an autobiography He includes intimate and awkward details of the sort which may be found in a novel or a casebook of psychology By nature he appears to have been introspective and scrupulous, and expecting a higher degree of goodness than could be delivered He discovered that religion was not a reliable means of erotic sublimation and this is why he came to lose his faith Somewhere, he says 'I came into the Church because of death and left because of sex' A further reason for his lapse was ambition He was to become a very successful dramatic critic and taught at the Yale School of Drama

This is a remarkable book and in many ways very moving Perhaps all men at some point feel that there is a missing factor in their lives and yearn for vision, peace and satisfaction This book describes a journey towards those things which was abandoned Perhaps there will be another volume to come

LAURENCE TANNER

AFTER PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt's children Tomorrow's world leaders and their world Edward Mortimer. A Channel Four Book £12 95

This book could be described as — almost — the book of the film At its core are a number of lengthy interviews with some key people, who 'might plausibly be expected to play some part' in shaping the world over the next two decades, and who are labelled 'Roosevelt's children' The series was commissioned by Channel Four — although the majority of the American and Russian interviewees on the first of the four TV programmes are omitted from the book, and there was a 'shape' to that piece (the emergence of the two superpowers) that is missing here The 44-year-old interviewer and author, whose main activity has been as a foreign correspondent, here uses the tapes of the interviews, however, as raw material around which he recounts, in semi-autobiographical form, a history of our own tormented times

This reviewer, who got his graduate degree from President Roosevelt and who had then, and retains, a filial affection for him, has a different view of the years since 1943 For one thing, F D Roosevelt was a Depression President, a 'Doctor-Win-the-War', a paraplegic who had guts and energy that few Presidents could match And his 'children' were first and last Americans, not reformers of or commentators on — or paymasters of — the world.

For another thing, the story told here is politics devoid of history The author takes the Second World War as a 'given', and, while aware that it was a rich experience, admits that he was glad he was never in it That is for him to judge But he not only takes World War II as a given, but all history before it also In this telling, it is either ignored or minimised Many perceptions therefore are blunted Pre-1943, wars were always 'declared' Today, in a world in which war is hardly ever declared, some 120 conflicts have occurred since 1945, and the plotting of foreign-inspired *coups* against established regimes has become almost normal Yet, if today's Cuba hires out its men to do another country's work in Africa, how is it different, except in its ideological 'cover', from the practices of the smaller German states in the eighteenth century, or of Nepal in the late nineteenth?

Nor, to this reviewer's taste, does the author fully take note of the contrast between our world and that envisaged by F D Roosevelt himself The President could not, and did not, foresee how different would be today's UN, with one-hundred and sixty member states (many of them clients) from that of his dreams If Sir Brian Urquhart is properly saluted here for his work in the UN, no observer or participant in the UNO or in any of its agencies can now retain any illusions that these Third World talk-shops, staffed with a nepotism that outdoes anything in previous history, minister to anything except the manufacture and exploitation of grievances — and to the ambitions of their own bureaucracies Not only the American Government but its people are tired of footing the bill, only to be abused in the process

Moreover, the Third World is represented here, by my reckoning, by two Africans, two Arabs, an Iranian and a Mexican There is no Chinese voice at all, and the only Russian view printed here is that of one now in exile. Poles, Czechs, Afghans, Vietnamese ? None The first TV programme did a fairer job than this This is an interesting but highly patchy tapestry of the world that F D R.'s children live in And many of them, if the President met them, he might feel he had not begot

ESMOND WRIGHT

THE AMERICAN RIGHT SINCE 1945

The Republican Right since 1945 David W Reinhard Lexington, Kentucky, The University Press of Kentucky

This book originated as a doctoral dissertation at Pennsylvania State University, it bears the stigmata of its origins, in an impressive array of footnotes and a solid bibliography To say this is not to blame but to praise it, for the research apparatus for a book covering the last 30 years is immensely useful And to his scholarship, the author brings a readable style and the ability to re-create some fascinating people Ike and Taft, Senators Bricker, Strom Thurmond and McCarthy, Goldwater and Nixon, Ford and Reagan He makes it plain that Reagan owed his steady rise towards the top post not only to his own skills — and convictions — as a communicator, but to the awareness on the Right that Ford was no adequate replacement for Nixon, and Ford did not help his cause by his proposal for an amnesty for Vietnam draft resisters, and by the selection of Nelson Rockefeller as vice-president Ford's popularity on Capitol Hill was one thing, lack of touch with the conservative grassroots was quite another Donald Reinhard, who himself now works on Capitol Hill, brings an insider's insights to the latter part of the book, and he explains convincingly how the Right of today emerged from 'the Age of Taft', and how thorough a restructuring of American politics it represents This is a lively, vivid and comprehensive survey, and to be warmly recommended

ESMOND WRIGHT

A NEW LOOK AT QUEEN VICTORIA?

Victoria Biography of a Queen Stanley Weintraub Unwin Hyman £17 50

The publicity that preceded this book implied that we were to be given a new version of Queen Victoria It was to be a Victoria for the age of the soap opera, a Victoria whose main interest would be shown to be, of course, sex.

Fortunately that has not proved to be the case Instead we have a relatively straight forward account of the Queen's life using the well known published sources Mr Weintraub is a Professor and Director of the Institute for the Arts and Humanistic Studies at a university in Pennsylvania. As there is virtually no original research in the book, nothing will come as a surprise to anyone who is acquainted with the biographies done by Lady Longford or Cecil Woodham-Smith (whose fine biography was unfortunately left unfinished at her death) Much of the book is drawn from the five volumes of correspondence between the Queen and her eldest daughter, superbly edited by Roger Fulford

Anyone who has read nothing since Lytton Strachey will find that this book gives an adequate summary of most recent research on Queen Victoria Professor Weintraub's main interest has been George Bernard Shaw and he does add some material on that playwright's attitude towards his Queen

The best point in the book is that the author has managed to understand certain aspects of Victoria's complex character, in particular her friendship with John Brown The book is less good on the historical background particularly as Professor Weintraub has not mastered the history of the Victorian period The Professor often gets facts and titles wrong and this can cause confusion to the reader For example he refers to Princess Charlotte as 'the Princess of Wales' which would have added incest to her father, George IV's, other pastimes

There is also, at times, a rather snide tone that leads one to believe, particularly in the final chapters, that Professor Weintraub had tired of the Queen and throughout had had little sympathy for this amazing woman whose frankness and honesty leave her open to whatever interpretation a writer wants to impose But people never tire of her, for in addition to presiding over the greatest age in British history, she is a fascinating woman Her character, all revealed in her vast writings, will never cease to fascinate those who have the ability and the taste to understand one of our most remarkable Sovereigns

JAMES MUNSON

•

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Mary Stuart's Scotland, the landscapes, life and legends of Mary Queen of Scots David and Judy Steel, with photographs by Eric Thorburn Weidenfeld & Nicolson £14 95

This was not, presumably, part of David Steel's publicity campaign for the June 11 election, although it is hard to establish how much he contributed to the book himself — except to facilitate perhaps his wife's and his photographer's access to important locations in the Border country? In any case, if it were part of his publicity, it came out happily just before the opening of the statutory election campaign To speak with more respect, the book's appearance coincides, of course, with the four hundredth anniversary of Mary Stuart's execution at Fotheringhay, which, being in England, is not mentioned here

The book has a coffee-table format, which permits Eric Thorburn to be lavish with his splendid photographs, many of them in colour, of the Scottish countryside and its dramatic landmarks. The text in fact is built around the many locations associated with Mary Stuart — Linlithgow Palace, (her birthplace), Stirling Castle, her nursery, Edinburgh, which for a time was her home and capital, the island of Lochleven, her prison, and Dundrennah, the sanctuary from which she 'escaped' across the Solway to exchange one uneasy realm for her twenty-year exile, and ultimate execution, in England

Judy Steel, presumably the principal author, appends in proper scholarly style a note on sources and a useful bibliography She does not include in them George Macdonald Fraser's *The Steel Bonnets,* whose descriptions of the turbulence of the clans in Scotland's debatable land have a vigour not found here Inevitably, her title precludes all reference to Mary's real upbringing in France, where, too, for a few months only, she was a queen, and which gave to her her grace, her accomplishment — and her dreams Equally, there is no place here for her long miserable years in English castles as prisoner of Elizabeth, nor for any assessment of the problems and the risks Mary posed for her cousin on the throne in London

If this is, then, more travel book than biography, and in format a follow-up to the same authors' *Border Country* rather than straight history, it is eminently readable, accurate to the facts of the story, and has a useful identification list telling the less-historically-attuned reader who was who in these restless and bloody times It is a handsome testament to a beautiful and historically-rich country, and to a beautiful and tragic queen who was totally out of tune with her country, her times and all too many of her savage subjects

ESMOND WRIGHT

SHORTER REVIEWS

The Partnership (The Bodley Head £15 00) This is, a fascinating study which centres on 'the secret association of Bernard Berenson and Joseph Duveen', in which the author, Colin Simpson discloses the sharp and profitable dealings of these two experts in the international art market. On the face of it, Joseph Duveen (1869-1939) had a long and distinguished career in the art world, culminating as a Trustee of the National Gallery in London in 1929 and in a peerage in 1933 Bernard Berenson (1865-1959) was a leading authority on Italian Renaissance painting For nearly thirty years, until 1938, these two men were dealing, to their great financial benefit, in slick buying and selling pictures to the great art museums and collectors, particularly in America, using at times extremely dubious and even dishonest representations in the attribution and value of paintings His book, Colin Simpson writes, is 'the fruit of my research into the combined archives of Duveens and Langton Douglas, supplemented by the memories, diaries, and notes of Jean and Edward Fowles, with whom I had long and detailed conversations'. It is certainly a work which requires the closest study. He includes a list of paintings with their attribution and locations, relative to the text.

Everyman's Book of Victorian Verse (Dent. £4 50) This anthology edited by Professor J. R. Watson was first published in 1982 and is now re-issued as an Everyman Classic. There are selections from over seventy poets. Professor Watson has divided his collection into four historical sections, namely Early Victorian, Mid-Victorian, High Victorian and *Fin de Siécle*. The object is to include poems representative of the social and political changes in each period. Anthologies are inevitably personal to the assessments and likes of the compiler No doubt there must be regrets by some readers for the inclusion or exclusion of poems, but all in all this is a worthwhile re-issue.

Victorian Short Stories (Dent, Everyman's Library. £3 95) This is a new anthology, published in the Everyman Classics series, selected and introduced by Harold Orel, Professor of English at Kansas University In his Introduction, he explains that they are chosen to 'illustrate various aspects of nineteenth century life and manners They are deeply rooted in circumstantial detail and a sense of fact, despite occasional elements of fantasy, the supernatural and psychological speculation' Professor Orel outlines the rise of the short story during the second half of the nineteenth century He has chosen seventeen stories, written by Douglas Jerrold, W S Gilbert, Charles Dickens, Sheridan le Fanu, Robert Louis Stevenson, Oscar Wilde, Thomas Hardy, Henry James, 'George Egerton', H G. Wells, Conan Doyle, Somerville and Ross, George Gissing, Baroness Orczy, Joseph Conrad and Rudyard Kipling The latter's story of the Englishman in India, whose Indian mistress dies of cholera, *Without Benefit of Clergy* is included in this anthology and also in the new Everyman Classic, **Rudyard Kipling, Selected Stories,** (Dent £3 95), chosen, introduced and edited by Sandra Kemp. She has selected sixteen stories 'which reveal Kipling's interest in the craftmanship of writing and his own self-conscious artistry'. Both these volumes will be appreciated although doubtless many readers will have their own preferences not necessarily included.

The Rough Guide to China (Routledge and Kegan Paul. £6 95) The opening of China to the outside world and the increasing number of visitors there makes this Guide particularly attractive Researched and written by Catherine Sanders, Chris Stewart and Rhonda Evans, with the help of many others, it is a comprehensive range of information for the visitor covering 600 pages It gives particular covering to main centres, such as Pekin and Shanghai. There is also a very informative section on Hong Kong. The Guide gives the readers suitable warnings For example, 'accommodation options remain few and rather dated', until 1990 when the number of hotel beds will have been doubled The Guide also provides a sense of excitement to the traveller visiting this little known land for the first time

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J. H. Fremlin

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Paul Rose

THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE PICTURE

Colin Simpson

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Contemporary Review

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IS RADIATION ALWAYS DANGEROUS?

by J. H. Fremlin

THERE is no doubt that cancers can be initiated by large doses of ionizing radiation (X-rays, short wave-length ultra-violet light and the radiations from radioactive materials). Medical treatment of certain diseases with large doses of X-rays, and the radiation from the two nuclear bombs dropped on Japan, have both shown increases of the risk of death from cancer after large doses A lot of radiation is needed to promote a large increase In Britain to-day 25% of deaths each year are due to cancer. If we were all subjected to a quickly delivered radiation dose large enough to kill half of us within a year or so by damage to the blood-forming organs or to the gut, the cancer death rate among the survivors would be raised from 25% to about 30%. Studies of the irradiated survivors in Japan have shown no evidence of an increase in death rates from causes other than cancer.

The whole world and even our own bodies are radioactive, and we are continuously bombarded by cosmic rays from outer space. It is assumed for the purpose of regulating exposures to workers in the nuclear industry or to the public that the cancer risk is proportional to the radiation dose. On this basis the natural sources of radiation, inside us and outside us, would be responsible for about 1/250th of our present 25% average cancer risk. The effects of the radioactive effluents from the nuclear industry are smaller still, even on the coast of the Irish Sea within a mile or two of Sellafield

Most people are genuinely astonished by any suggestion that ionizing radiation may be doing us some good Not only are they astonished but, even when shown evidence suggesting this, there is a large probability that they will first disbelieve it and then forget it. For a generation we have been constantly bombarded by the media with the message 'radiation is dangerous Radiation is Dangerous Radiation is DANGEROUS'. The idea that radiation may do good seems to contradict this. A child still gathering facts can easily believe two incompatible things by not thinking of them simultaneously Later, our minds take trouble to decide which they think is right — or perhaps more widely believed by others — and dismiss the other as wrong and better not remembered.

A lucky accident made me remember and take seriously the possibility that radiation might be good for us In Vienna in 1978 I was at a conference on radiation damage A morning lecture by Dr. Spalding and

others reported the life-shortening effects on mice of different radiation doses delivered at low dose rates; and I noticed that the group receiving the lowest dose, of several rems, had actually lived on the average longer than the controls which had no dose at all This seemed to me to be obviously nonsense, and I at once concluded that the control group had been less well treated than the irradiated groups

If that had been all, I would undoubtedly have forgotten all about it But the next lecture but one, investigating a different aspect of radiation effects on mice, showed the same unexpected feature. So I thought 'How funny that two independent and competent experimentalists should *both* have neglected their controls'. And again, even this might have been neglected and forgotten, but the coincidence niggled me, and it suddenly occurred to me that maybe mild continued irradiation of the immune system might lead to an improvement of its ability to resist disease, just as regular tiring exercise to our muscles can lead to greater strength and better ability to resist tiredness Whereupon the two results would fit perfectly well between two parts of my existing pattern of knowledge, and were no longer incompatible with my previous belief that radiation was harmful, so long as I was willing to accept that it might sometimes do good *as well as* harm And the final event that fixed my memory of the unexpected effect was a discussion at coffee time with Dr Stanton Cohn, head of the medical physics unit at Brookhaven, USA. He didn't contribute any information about immune systems, but instead said. 'Do you know, John, I got exactly that result when I was a research student. I never dared publish it '

So I wondered how many others had not dared to publish it, and set out to look for further evidence I found a good deal.

I will give a few examples of this evidence Most of the experiments have been done with small rodents. It would take a very long time and be very expensive to do experiments on the extension of life span of elephants

The first example that I found was given by a large-scale experiment by Dr. Robin Mole in 1958 on the life-shortening effect of continuous gamma irradiation of mice An increase of about 7% in average survival time over the average survival time of unirradiated mice was shown by mice receiving a dose of 1 rem a week, more than 200 times the natural background A rem is the most convenient unit of radiation dose — about five times the average dose we each of us get in a year from the natural radiation background The effect of a dose of 1 rem is not large Present legal limits of radiation dose are based on the assumption that 1 rem will add about 1 chance in 8,000 to our present one chance in four of dying from cancer Seven per cent is not very large, but was well above the expected random error

The next example was shown by the results of a little-known mouse study by Lorenz as long ago as 1950, which showed an increase in median age at death from 23 months for zero irradiation to 27 months with a radiation dose of about 0 25 rem per day, spread over 8 hours each day

for the entire lives of the animals

The most striking example was published by Carlson and Jackson in 1959. They irradiated a series of groups, each of 22 young adult rats, all of the same strain, for 16 hours a day for a year, the total daily dose to different groups varying from zero to 8 rems a day. Their results showed that, for each group of rats at below 8 rems a day, the life expectancy was greater than that of the controls, the maximum increase being around 30% for a daily dose of 2½ rems — a total dose in the course of the year's irradiation of about 900 rems

A gain from low doses of radiation is not confined to mammals Pentreath, in 1980, reported an experiment in which batches of eggs and young fry of a Canadian salmon (about 100,000 eggs per batch) were irradiated from a few hours after laying until they started feeding. Another batch from the same site were not. Now, salmon return after two to four years to the same spawning ground It was found that a larger proportion of adults from the most lightly irradiated group (half a rem a day) returned than did from the unirradiated group Furthermore, the ones that had been lightly irradiated produced a larger number of fertile eggs Presumably in some way the irradiated batch had been protected from whatever diseases reduce the numbers of growing salmon, and left them in better health. Batches receiving larger radiation doses did less well than the controls.

The fact that in each of the four experiments cited the large total doses were spread over long periods is important Our entire evolution has taken place in a radioactive world in which every one of our living cells will have been struck by an ionizing particle several times a year. Inevitably these ionizing particles will sometimes do serious damage to the DNA on which our genetic inheritance and the proper working of our cells depend To cope with this, the cells of our very early ancestors, probably before they crawled out of the water on to the land, developed exceedingly efficient repair systems, capable of perfect restoration of the damaged DNA to its original state.

The repair takes at least a few minutes, which doesn't matter at all under natural conditions, when background radiation will rarely cause significant damage to the DNA of any particular cell more than about once a year. The cells of irradiated survivors of the nuclear bombs on Japan will have received almost their entire dose, causing up to several hundred separate injuries to the DNA of every cell in their bodies, in a tiny fraction of a second It is likely that in such conditions the repair system may have been less effective, and that deductions made from the cancer rates observed among the heavily irradiated survivors may seriously overestimate the cancer rates to be expected from comparable doses received at low dose rates. In the course of a year Carlson and Jackson's most heavily irradiated rats received a total dose of nearly 3,000 rems, which would quite certainly have killed them outright if it had been received in a few seconds, but which in fact barely reduced their lifespan to the zero-dose level.

Dr. T D. Luckey in a review article quotes over 200 references to experiments, on a great variety of creatures, with similar results. But while collectively these carry some weight, if only because none of them show a life-*shortening* at low doses and low dose-rates, most of them are individually less convincing than the four that I have quoted.

The results of these experiments are consistent with the hypothesis suggested above to explain the increase in longevity that irradiation, perhaps by producing a great variety of aberrant cells, some of them cancerous, was giving a general stimulus to the immune system, which left it more effective in dealing with the early stages both of cancers and of diseases caused by micro-organisms

Support for this interpretation has been given by a different type of experiment, published by Hoffsten and Dixon in 1974 Here the effectiveness of antibody formation in the immune system of mice was determined by measuring the number of micrograms of a foreign hormone that were bound by antibodies in 1 millilitre of mouse blood plasma, after six weeks of irradiation of the mice at a series of dose rates The standard errors were considerable, but there was a very clear maximum at around 170 rems a week, a dose which gave in each week a radiation dose 850 times the average natural background dose received in a year.

The possibility of an improvement of the human immune system by apparently irrelevant stimuli has recently been shown by Dr. Alice Stewart and her collaborators. She studied the relation of childhood cancer rates to earlier experience of inoculation against eight specific diseases — smallpox, measles, poliomyelitis, whooping cough, diphtheria, German measles, tetanus and tuberculosis. In each case, a smaller proportion of the children who had been inoculated died later of leukaemia or other cancer before the age of 16; and putting the whole lot together this result was statistically completely convincing Dr. Stewart's proposed explanation is similar to mine for the increased longevity: that the specific experience given to the immune system improved its general capacity to distinguish and inhibit or destroy aberrant cells that might otherwise have multiplied into a cancer.

On purely logical grounds it is difficult to explain why a favourable effect of low levels of irradiation, now known as radiation hormesis, should not already have been expected by analogy with the biologically well-known phenomenon of hormesis· the stimulus given to an organism by non-poisonous concentrations of poisonous substances. Thus small amounts of arsenic improve the complexion, and in Austria and elsewhere are used by peasants to improve resistance to fatique. Arsenic and strychnine are used in tonics Compounds of copper, zinc and selenium, and of course vitamin D, are essential to our lives in small quantities but lethal if swallowed a gram at a time An even closer analogy is given by ultra-violet light; at moderate intensities it can enable us to make all of the vitamin D that we need for ourselves; in excess it can cause dangerous burns and cancer.

Much stress is laid by those who fear the radiation from radioactive

materials on the fact that we can neither see it, smell it nor taste it. Exactly the same exaggerated fears for exactly the same reasons were expressed by those who opposed the introduction of electricity Partly this is the common objection to the new, as when most of the medical profession refused for a generation to believe in the harmful effects of bacteria, and for two generations refused to believe in the existence of viruses, which couldn't be seen under a microscope. A large part is due to the connection with nuclear weapons

Now, I have no direct proof that the irradiation of young humans would on balance be good for them, as it has been proved to be for a variety of other creatures. There is no doubt that radiation, however small the dose and dose rate, must initiate cancer in a correspondingly small number of living cells. Neither is there any question that an improvement in our immune system could improve the recognition of modified cells as aberrant and a larger proportion would therefore be destroyed. The comparative importance of good and bad effects, however, may well be different in different species of animal, and at different ages in a single species, so that the balance might be bad for us although it is good for many other creatures.

The evidence from Hiroshima and Nagasaki shows incontrovertibly that large doses can on the average cause up to five per cent or more of a mixed population to die of cancer who would not have done so without the radiation dose If we look specifically at the young however, whose immune systems are still developing, it is apparent that the results are consistent with a useful degree of radiation hormesis.

Table I (from a paper by Kato and Schull) shows the total number of leukaemia deaths and of all cancer deaths including leukaemia, between 1945 and 1978, among those who were children under 10 years old at the time of bombing, for a series of ranges of radiation doses recorded. It is strikingly clear that not only was there no increase in observed cancer death rates for the lower doses, but that below a dose of 100 rem the cancer death rate was actually less than the death rate of children who received no radiation at all The numbers of deaths are so small that a pure lucky chance could have led the death rates following doses from 10-49 rems and from 50-99 rems to be less than the death rate for none. Above 100 rems the conventional prediction that about 1½ extra cancers per 10,000 people per rem should be added to the no-dose figures is as close to the observed rates as could be expected from the small numbers involved. Below 100 rems the deficit is therefore consistent with a useful degree of radiation hormesis

Figures for the cancer rates among people between 35 and 50 at the time of bombing, whose immune systems were likely to have already reached their peak, showed no sign whatever of radiation hormesis; the cancer death rate rose with dose all the way, with no anomalous change in rate above 100 rems.

Hormesis or no hormesis, it must be a relief to all of us that the long-term effects of the bomb radiation on children are unobservable even

for quite large doses at the enormous dose-rate experienced at Hiroshima and Nagasaki

It has been pointed out that the oldest children under 10 at the time of bombing will have been only in their forties by 1978, an age at which 'normal' cancer rates are beginning to increase rapidly, but there is no reason to suppose that the cancers initiated by the doses from the bombs will be delayed for longer than those initiated before the age of 10 by 'normal' causes Such evidence as we have suggests that cancers due to larger doses appear *earlier* than those due to small doses

Until we know a lot more than we do now, it will be sensible to keep tight legal limits on the radiation doses to which the nuclear industry is permitted to expose their workers, all of whom are adults, and the lower limit to which they are permitted to expose the public. And I think we are a long way from the time when we might expect every home to have a gamma ray source in the children's bedroom to extend their later lives (Even when we do know enough, the government may want to make it illegal, because it won't want to increase the number of 'senior citizens')

At the same time I think that the evidence shows conclusively that the estimation of risks at low dose-rates from the results of the high doses and enormous dose-rates received at Hiroshima must lead to a serious degree of exaggeration, at least for young people; and that the true causes for such clusters of cases of leukaemia as at Seascale must be looked for elsewhere (Although less publicised, clusters of child (and adult) leukaemias have occurred in many places far from any nuclear establishments, and strongly suggest infectious sources, probably of viruses)

Our understanding of the disaster at Chernobyl has not changed any estimates of risks in Western reactors Since the Soviet catastrophe, operators everywhere will be less likely to disobey the rules, and the quite specific structures that made the Chernobyl explosion possible have no counterpart outside the USSR.

Being myself an experimentalist rather than a theorist, I note that among civil power reactors outside the USSR one accident, that at Three Mile Island, led to an even chance that one person might die as a result of the escape of radioactive material, and that several accidents have occurred without any significant risk to anyone If we have learned nothing from these it is likely that in the next three thousand reactor years we shall have another accident giving an even chance of killing one person, and several accidents causing no significant risk to anyone. Actually we have learned a great deal, and the prospects should be better

Measurements of the radioactivity absorbed by people in the Ukraine suggest a resultant cancer excess over the next fifty years of under a thousand, if we forget about radiation hormesis Radiation hormesis however may be particularly helpful in the unusually young Ukrainian population, among the twenty million who died in the Soviet Union during the war, few Ukrainians who would by now be in the dangerous

age range for cancers between 55 and 75 survived.

The disruption of the lives of those evacuated is in many ways more serious than the tiny addition to the millions of cancer deaths that will occur from other causes

To put the whole nuclear risk in Britain in perspective I have extended in Table II data given by Dr Richard Peto from British mortality statistics and his own work on the causes of cancer.

Finally, I very much want to know why the numerous agitators who oppose nuclear power, some of whom must have known about the animal experiments of the kind I have described, have concealed their knowledge from the public. The irresponsible hullabaloo that they have raised, with the help of the media, about tiny doses received from the nuclear industry, and their complete neglect of the thousands dying each year as a result of diesel fumes and other fossil fuel discharge is inexcusable. I do not regret the decision of Nirex not to bury low level wastes as planned I do not like people to be frightened, even if they have been intentionally frightened by ghost stories And the ocean bottom, of which the top 10 cm or so has from natural sources some ten times the alpha activity of average land surface soils, has always seemed to me the best place for it. But the callous cruelty of the propagandists who have successfully terrified people in areas which might have been used for the safe storage of low level nuclear wastes has not been exceeded since the witch hunts of the seventeenth century

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Table I

Death rates from leukaemia, and from all cancers, in Hiroshima and Nagasaki combined, among children under 10 at the time of bombing 1945-1978

Dose range (rems)	Number of children	Observed deaths		Death rate per 10,000
		Leukaemia	All cancers	All cancers
0	5800	7	22	38
1–9	4420	3	18	41
10–49	2970	4	8	27
50–99	700	1	2	29
100–199	380	4	7	180
200–299	190	4	12	350
300–399	80	1	1	130
400 up	260	9	11	420

Table II

Among 1,000,000 young adult males starting
a lifelong addiction to cigarettes.
About 600 will be murdered —
About 6,000 will be killed on the roads —
Several thousand will die from chemical air pollution
by fuel burning and vehicle exhausts —
About 250,000 will be killed by tobacco —
About 1 will be killed by the effluents of the
British nuclear power industry —
About 1 will be killed by the fall-out from Chernobyl

[Emeritus Professor J H Fremlin joined the Physics Department of Birmingham University in 1945, after having spent eight years in industrial research In 1966 he became Professor of Applied Radioactivity For ten years before retirement he was responsible for the postgraduate course in Radiobiology Consultant to Cumbria County Council on radiation hazards for twelve years, his many authoritative publications include 'Be Fruitful and Multiply' and 'Power Production — What are the Risks?'.]

The September issue of *Contemporary Review* includes *Israel A Demographic Dilemma* by H J Skutel, *Spain's Mediterranean Problems* by Robert Mesa, *Law and Order in Perspective* by Philip Norton and *Foreign Interjections Drawing in England from Hilliard to Hogarth* by Muriel Julius.

SATELLITES FOR PEACE

by Keith D. Suter

PRESIDENT Reagan's advocacy of the Strategic Defence Initiative has stimulated a debate on the military uses of outer space While much attention has been focussed on SDI, far less publicity has been given to the growing interest being developed in other uses of military equipment in space to maintain international peace and security.

Among the first people to see how satellites could be used for peaceful purposes were Harriet and Howard Kurtz The Kurtzes seemed on the surface to be an odd couple She, a graduate of Wellesley College (1937), studied for two years at the Russian Institute of Columbia University (1946-48) and earned her master's in divinity from Union Theological Seminary (1962) He, a World War II lieutenant colonel with the air force, was an engineer with American Airlines and later with a consulting firm which had defence contracts In 1963, he and his wife Harriet founded War Control Planners, Inc From his work for the airlines Howard had been impressed by the air-traffic control system that daily prevented thousands of planes from colliding He felt the world needed a comparable systems-management approach for war prevention

The essence of the Kurtz agenda is that the major obstacle to disarmament is not being addressed nations feel insecure with all their arms, but even more insecure at the thought of disarmament. Nations will not disarm until there is some way to provide security through a common global system Satellites can be used both to verify disarmament treaties and monitor potential conflicts as well as to build an international climate of friendship based on mutual co-operation in economic and social affairs.

Satellite technology (one of the fastest growing areas of space research) provides, ironically, ways of both enhancing and eroding national security. The American Landsat satellite, in one orbit of the earth in approximately 103 minutes, invades the privacy of every sovereign nation in its path 115 miles wide Once every 18 days this one Landsat satellite inspects in increasingly minute detail the sovereign territory of every other nation on the planet During the 18 days it takes one Landsat satellite to cover the entire earth, its instruments are recording what is seen and transmitting the data for permanent storage in ground computers for sovereign US territory only 1 8 percent of the time, 98 2 percent of this time Landsat is gathering intelligence or information from territory that is foreign to the United States US multinational corporations are receiving preferred access to the energies and resources and potential intelligence to gain economic dominion over these nations But Landsat could become the leading edge instrument of a transcendent new US national commitment to help all nations in their struggles for their own future security and progress.

Do 'eye in the sky' satellites involve military science and technology or civilian science and technology? One satellite system will contain

instruments which will measure the temperature of the surface of the oceans hundreds of miles below, to within a fraction of a degree accuracy. This will be of added value for civilian weather forecasting and for civilian seastate forecasting for ocean shipping But this same instrument at this same instant will be able to detect the faint trail of slightly warmer water rising to the surface, heated by the friction of the propeller of a silent nuclear submarine against the surrounding water, causing the warmer water to rise to the surface, leaving a tell-tail trail of warmer surface water to mark the path of the military submarine. The development of military and civilian earth-observation satellites will increasingly overlap Satellites monitoring the inventories of crops near a national border also will record the movement of troops across that border Satellites monitoring the pollution of rivers from sewage or oil spills also will detect the pollution of the same river from the production of nuclear or other weapons.

In 1966 the Kurtzes proposed a practical unilateral plan to help end the arms race Twenty-one years later, although satellite technology has caught up with the technical requirements of the plan, there is still a lack of political will in the US (and elsewhere) to bring the vision into effect The Kurtzes proposed, first, All-Nation Space Stations· the construction of a new series of reconnaissance satellites The use of these surveillance space stations will be made available to all nations All nations will be invited to develop surveillance systems for experimental installation in these orbiting laboratories All nations will be given full access to all information from these global surveillance systems, that all national defence establishments, all regional defence establishments, and the United Nations Military Staff Committee can gain protracted experience in working together to test the effectiveness, and to establish the future requirements for a Global Safety Authority intelligence capability.

Second, an All-Nation War Alarm System. the construction of an advanced global command and control headquarters, near the United Nations with duplicate display centres in the capitals of all co-operating nations, and in the headquarters of all regional defence organizations. This centre will be open to the public of all nations and governments. The illuminated display walls in this global command centre will be connected to the national command centre in the Pentagon People can begin to see the global surveillance and intelligence capabilities the United States already possesses, to be able to exert command and control today over military forces spread across more than half the earth No information which would be detrimental to the security of the United States will be passed to these public exhibitions, but the world can begin to see the emerging reality of global command and control systems to bring armed forces management for the world eventually to the new United Nations Global Safety Authority Every nation will be invited to connect its national command centre to this display. No nation will be expected to divulge information to jeopardize its own security But all nations will gain practical experience in the operation of a future war safety control

system of world dimension

Third, War Prevention Conferences: a continuing series of multinational War Prevention Conferences Military and political leaders of all participating nations can begin to hammer out the requirements and force structures for the future Global Safety Authority They can analyse and experiment with the unprecedented new political checks and balances which will be required to make certain that this all-nation safety constabulary cannot become a tyrant over governments, and that it cannot be captured by any one political power clique to be used to conquer the world

Fourth, All-Nation War Prevention Games: a continuing series of multinational war prevention games Whereas war games are used to develop military proficiency in waging war, these war prevention games will be utilized to develop and test the increasing proficiency in preventing war. A purpose of these games will be to allow the public and press of all nations to see that nations are making serious efforts to solve the problem of war.

The emphasis which the Kurtzes placed on security meant that they were not part of the mainline American peace movement. Most peace activists campaign for the reduction or abolition of weapons; the Kurtzes argued that this was putting the cart before the horse: security has to precede disarmament. On the other hand, Howard Kurtz was also critical of the military-industrial complex and the lack of vision among politicians and so, as a former Air Force colonel, was seen by some military as a renegade As often happens, people who are in the 'middle of the road', get hit by the traffic coming on both sides

However, the Kurtzes were undaunted They carried on refining their vision. About a decade ago, they set out an agenda in which nations could use satellite technology for mutual benefit

Earth resources — With satellites already in orbit, it is possible to observe and record (in computers) the condition of soil, growing rates, rainfall, crop diseases and yields. Infrared detectors can spot blight in crops before the farmer knows it is there An information centre can tell when a nation is headed towards crop failure and when another nation will have an abundance. Similar readings are possible on the size and condition of livestock herds

Forestry — Along with its crop monitoring, the global information co-operative can keep similar track of the world's lumber resources, spot fires and other dangers with more efficiency than ground observers

Wildlife — Satellites can track herds, plot migration patterns and help protect endangered species

Search and rescue — Satellites able to spot a lifeboat at sea, explorers in the Arctic or a motorist stranded in the desert can be used in a global safety effort

Mineral resources — Space age 'prospectors' can plot new mineral deposits, water and other resources via satellite They can also locate geological faults unknown even to the governments of the nations con-

cerned and, hopefully, help to head off or at least reduce the impact of natural disasters

Weather — Even if weather control remains some way off, satellites can provide regular weather data to the 80 per cent of the earth which does not receive reports.

The Kurtzes based their agenda on three key assumptions. First, that no nation need give up its own defence forces to join the global information co-operative The world plan would reduce the need for forces but, meanwhile, nations could retain their arms or pursue arms control as they are doing now Second, that the plan does not depend on lengthy international negotiations and complicated agreements before it can get started Any one nation can take the lead simply by making its technology and its satellites available to the world. Third, that the scheme offers the answer to the economic problems of converting from war to peace and of reducing the production of arms The co-operative would be so massive that it would take up both the slack in employment and the loss of revenue for manufacturers.

Gradually, they began to receive some support. The *Air Force Times,* for example, recognized that the Kurtz agenda could still provide military careers once peace broke out. If the Kurtz agenda were accepted, the magazine could foresee a way that the American services could preserve their present defence capabilities; give them an added role in a global humanitarian effort; bring them added funding which Congress would approve; polish the military image; and put the armed services in full partnership with science, industry, the clergy, the legal profession and the world's diplomats in the fight against poverty, pollution and pestilence

Harriet Kurtz died in 1977 (aged 61); but Howard has kept battling on. He had an ally in the UN's deputy secretary-general Robert Muller (of France) who took the idea to Valery Giscard d'Estaing In 1978 France proposed an International Satellite Monitoring Agency (ISMA). As outlined by then President Valery Giscard d'Estaing before the UN General Assembly, the agency would extend the benefits of surveillance satellites to countries without space capability, would permit the UN Security Council to monitor crises and border disputes, and would verify the treaties banning chemical and biological warfare, as well as environmental modification for military purposes. Depending on whether ISMA obtained technology from the superpowers, a basic monitoring system would cost between $1 billion and $2 billion a year — more than the entire UN budget The United States has vigorously opposed ISMA, arguing that it would be impossible for an agency operating by majority rule to handle sensitive issues of data interpretation Support for ISMA has been strong among the many countries not likely to join the space club any time soon. The US and USSR are still opposed to the idea but it is at long last on the international agenda

Meanwhile, support has come from an unexpected source· Admiral Stansfield Turner, former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. In his 1985 book *Secrecy and Democracy the CIA in Transition,* Turner

proposed the creation of a separate intelligence agency that would be the US liaison with other nations' the Open Skies Agency. Although only OSA would release information to the world at large, the US could control what information the OSA received if it was necessary to protect a certain technical collection system. Turner noted that since 1972 the Department of Commerce had been selling pictures from its civilian Landsat satellites to any nation or citizen that wants them Some eleven countries have already built stations to receive Landsat signals directly from US satellites. In 1981, the Commerce Department filled 173,357 requests for $100 worth or more of LandSat data from individuals or government agencies in eighty nine countries While Landsat does not reveal anything like the detail that military satellites do, it is still useful for agriculture, cartography, geology, hydrology and oceanography and can identify such things as roads, railway tracks, airports and depots.

According to Howard Kurtz, the military heroes of the future will be men and women who risk their lives stopping wars and preventing wars from spreading, as fire-fighters risk their lives putting out fires There will be global support forces to assist the army of each nation defend its own borders, a world security navy to prevent sea or undersea war or preparations and a planet-wide aerospace force to police the airspace and assure that it will be used for peaceful purposes only There will be a global intelligence service helping all nations to detect clandestine preparations for one nation's threat to another and a world security authority capable of preventing even a superpower from producing catastrophic weapons and delivery systems Every present specialized field of military science and command will carry the added responsibility for expanding knowledge and skills for a new strategy of war prevention, bringing a sense of security to people of all nations Scarce human and natural resources, today squandered on the arms race, will be redirected to help produce food for the world's hungry, clothe the world's naked, shelter the world's shivering, provide medicines for the world's sick, and a future that people of all nations will find worth struggling to achieve

The Kurtz agenda is a challenge not only to governments and the military-industrial complex, but also to the peace movement The peace movement is too often fixated on details (such as Britain's nuclear policy) that it loses sight of the larger mosaic The agenda lifts the arms race debate out of the sterile trough of unilateral versus multilateral disarmament proposals and presents a new way of viewing why arms races are run, how military technology can be used for peaceful purposes and what proposals can be made to gain support for disarmament among the military-industrial complex

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THE ELECTION OF THE CENTURY: THE BIG SQUEEZE

by Paul Rose

THE late Professor Mckenzie used to entertain us with his enthusiastic use of the 'Swingometer'. Dr. Butler was more sophisticated in relation to individual seats while more recently Robert Waller produced an *Atlas of British Politics*. Martin Lustren of *The Guardian* produced an almost incomprehensible but more sophisticated three-dimensional swingometer entitled 'your 3-party poll guide' to guide us through election night. Moreover, he produced a fourth dimension, taking account of tactical voting.

The experience of by-elections has been that the Alliance, if it established itself as the main challenger, created a band wagon for tactical voters and Alliance-inclined voters to board The national polls at the beginning of the 1987 Campaign produced the opposite Alliance-inclined voters, as with the Liberals in the past, frightened by the spectre of Thatcherism or the so-called Loonie Left, voted tactically in the opposite way, bringing down the Alliance share of the vote, while, simultaneously, Labour barely broke out of its heartlands, and indeed were penetrated in London and the South East by the Yuppie and London factor — demographic changes in areas like Battersea and soaring rates in Walthamstow.

Waller's political map emphasised regional factors and the map is now more polarised than ever; Scotland has fewer Conservative seats than at any time since 1945. The Labour and Liberal Parties on the Celtic fringe could take some comfort from the wounds suffered in that swathe of Southern England that is almost totally blue. That polarisation has dangerous implications for those anxious to see a united people working together, and may fuel extra parliamentary activity by a frustrated section of the community shut out from the increased prosperity of those who gave a vote of confidence to the status quo.

In this situation one can begin perhaps to build from the Swingometer to new concepts — regionalism, demographic factors, ethnic factors and tactical voting as well as individual Constituency oddities being substituted for a simple two party swing which neither swingometer nor computer can predict accurately.

During the election itself I found that there were more columns devoted to analyses of the polls than ever before to the disadvantage of the issues However, Mrs Thatcher and Mr Kinnock fought an almost Presidential campaign, appealing to their own supporters and insulated from their opponents with television as the targeted medium This time, Labour displayed a professionalism which it formerly despised However, whatever the packaging, the product has to appeal The product may only appeal to just over 40% of the population but that is enough under our electoral system

In a polarised population and a Presidential style campaign, a two headed party — or what Mr. St. John Stevas referred to as a 'pantomime' horse — suffered twice over and were the victims of the squeeze. Labour cannot, even with its professionalism and attractive leadership, break through the barriers that make it an almost permanent opposition party, obliterated in the South and losing in London itself

The spectre of Brent, Liverpool, Lambeth, Islington and other local authorities damages Labour which had made no progress at the local elections, hence the 'London factor'. By the same token the uncaring image of Conservatism — or more correctly — Thatcherism, created a mirror image in the North, Wales and Scotland

From a purely personal view I walked into the polling booth with my conscience and my pocket in conflict, just as I find myself reading *The Guardian* and *Financial Times* in that order. Clearly self-interest plays a great part in voting but there was a small spectrum of issues which dominated the Campaign Should I vote for the thoughtful party or the emotional party, the sensible party as against the silly party, the moderate party as against the extreme party — living in Brent with a Thatcherite Rhodes Boyson waving a populist flag aimed at gypsies, homosexuals and high rates? I wasted my vote by giving it to the Party incapable of forming a government — and that above all was the reason given by most people for not voting for the Alliance

What, however, were the issues? That may well be the question since in the three party system, where Dr. Owen told us he might prop up the very Prime Minister to whom he was claiming the Alliance were the main and only real credible opposition while apparently differing from David Steel, the issues took second place to the tactics However, there is little doubt that Defence was played as the trump card, conjuring up scenes of Spitfires and the Falklands factor with us once more, not least when Neil Kinnock made his only gaffe in appearing to contemplate guerilla warfare as the alternative to the nuclear deterrent. A simplistic issue was put forward: a deterrent, no deterrent and a deterrent that was not enough to deter, and the patriotic appeal that moves unemployed steelworkers and underfed pensioners alike was taken over as the prerogative of the Conservatives

Labour's Gilbertian parody of the 'Right down regular Royal Queen' was perhaps unwise with an electorate demanding strong leadership. The gaunt and ever tough-guy Tebitt did the hatchet work while Mrs Thatcher was the Statesman, Statesperson or Stateswoman who shared the limelight with Gorbachev and Reagan

The concept of a minimum deterrent — but not Trident — may have appeared as a hastily cobbled formula, although it makes a lot of sense for a small island just behind the front line in the unreal scenario of European conflict Little attention was given to the powder kegs of the world in the Middle East, South East Asia or Latin America. The tight little island that even Shakespeare saw as shaped by nature for Mrs Thatcher's and President Reagan's purposes, is something that runs deep

in the English if not the Scottish psyche Market research must have revealed it as the strong point, whereas hospitals were no-go areas for the Iron Lady

The health service and education were not regarded as safe in Tory hands, but Labour's own record on schools in its less than satisfactory local authority areas, combined with the issue of freedom of choice and tabloid mythology to frighten many Mums and Dads According to the victor of now marginal Brent East, Ken Livingstone, Labour also lost out on the women's vote He hardly showed himself to be a vote winner

There lies another dilemma. The more moderate and reasonable Labour packaging makes it, the less justification for the caring, thoughtful, left inclined voter to vote Alliance.

Whatever the spectre of abolition of all excellence in education may have done for some, the reality of large classes, lack of text books and teachers in run down schools and long waiting lists in hospitals were the other side of the coin — and a coin only has two sides.

As I watched the endless debates and statistics straight from the Party handbooks I wondered why I hadn't been bored to death during the five Elections I fought and won before retiring to the side-lines with a distinct distaste for the whole ethos of Westminster, adversary politics and petty bureaucracy uninterested in attacking and exposing real injustices. Politics demands staying power above all and that is why the mediocre but resilient will triumph over their embarrassingly independent colleagues.

However, it was good to see a 'nice guy' like Bryan Gould thrown into the limelight while annoying to know that the Red Rose was stolen from the Continental Socialists and Labour Committee for Europe, led by Roy Jenkins and Shirley Williams and so well organised by Bill Rodgers Now that only one of the gang of four remains can there be any excuse for a separate SDP? The great attraction to me of the Alliance was the scarcely debated issue of Constitutional Reform.

The Tories had spent more than ever on hospitals and recruited more nurses, however, hospitals were closing and nurses deserting in droves Prescription charges were occasionally mentioned but Labour had a chink in their armour even if the charges have risen tenfold for the adult non-pensioner sick

Unemployment kept raising its ugly head along with the 'two nations' and inner city decay Lord Young was proud that unemployment was going down, and more people were at work employed — a million more! By the same token the squandering of gas and the fact that we are now net importers of manufactured goods contrasted with greater productivity and a healthier outlook for British industry.

The fact is that Mrs Thatcher has in a sense achieved a situation which may yet reflect the German miracle By destroying much of our industrial base and creating a pool of unemployed and many anxious for their jobs, foreign capital may pour in to bolster not only share prices but British industry, services and technology, and therefore improve pros-

perity. Tory radicalism will — and there is strong evidence that it has already done so — bring prosperity and pride to an army of houseowners and even shareholders who now have a stake in keeping the thieving hands of would-be nationalisers and providers of Council houses out of office.

A government can live with three million unemployed and industrial wastelands, under-privileged communities and ethnic minorities or a rotting housing stock especially when these are all in the same areas — those that are already Labour heartlands Yuppies are taking over Fulham and Wandsworth but miners are divided and blue collar workers fewer than ever, while the hopelessness of the dole queue creates apathy and violence rather than political activity.

In any event, the Home Counties are not being invaded by Scottish shipworkers from the Clyde or miners from the Welsh valleys but by new hi-tech industries employing well-paid skilled workforces, not least in East Anglia, and along the M11 where both Labour and the Alliance lost out badly from Basildon to Cambridge Swings to Labour in Hull or Barnsley are of no account in a single Constituency system.

There is a prosperity which I witness in my regular visits to Guildford or Bury St Edmunds or Brent Cross Shopping Centre — even in Gateshead to which Mrs Thatcher repeatedly referred — but Trafford Park and Clydeside or Merseyside are light years away

At least one rent-a-quote Tory lost his seat to a suave Cambridge educated Black Socialist and a 5% black population now have four MPs — unhappily all in one party Women with about 6% of MPs have advanced to their greatest number ever More Asians are breaking with traditional Labour ties as they share in the prosperity of suburban England like the Irish and Jews, Poles and Ukrainians before them. Afro-Caribbeans are still the most disadvantaged but most alienated from the political process More militants and extreme left members will cause problems for Mr Kinnock while thoughtful and attractive new faces like Harriet Harman and Joan Ruddock will have to consider, with a reborn Joan Lestor, how Labour can escape from a situation where it represents only about one third of the electorate, as a maximum potential.

The political landscape has changed The issues have changed since radical monetarism and the free economy dismantled the creations of Morrison and threatened the achievements of Attlee and Bevan The spirit of Ernest Bevin has triumphed in the Party that sat opposite him and waned among the Trade Unions which threw him up.

If doctors and nurses, teachers and civil servants are as disaffected as were miners and steelworkers, how is it explicable that Thatcherism as opposed to Conservatism of the Macmillan and Heath age has triumphed? The answer lies in the Squeeze If the Alliance advances, Labour loses seats to the Conservatives and vice versa. For it should not be forgotten that in a system where a 38% vote can give the Conservatives an absolute majority and 23% of the voters have one tenth of that proportion of seats, a Conservative Party well-led and benefitting from the changing

picture of occupations, ownership, residence and having carefully nurtured new attitudes more akin to the pocket than the conscience will easily maintain its position.

Mrs Thatcher may set her sights on the record of Lord Liverpool but I fear one outcome of an election result that suits my pocket My conscience tells me that at night some unemployed youngster may mug me or a housing estate will go up in flames as police battle with frustrated people, in areas of social and racial stress who will feel shut out from the system, just as Scotland must now be on the verge of declaring political rather than natural sovereignty I fear that a divided nation will be more divided than ever

Mrs Thatcher likes to appear inflexible In fact, her last year of office shows her capable of much greater flexibility She has shown herself to be an astute and strongly ideological politician Just as the other two groups have to think about the ideals they represent, her third term of office could give Mrs Thatcher the chance to take stock. If, as she believes, Britain is to be great and prosperous, it is not enough to hope prosperity will filter down as private profit creates wealth. She must look at our ageing infrastructure, respond to the needs of that fifth of the population severely disadvantaged. Just as she talks to Gorbachev, she must talk also to her erstwhile opponents and try to grasp the concept of consensus rather than adversary politics If she does, she will go down in history like Disraeli or Macmillan or Churchill whom she so admires. If she does not she will be remembered for her divisiveness and I fear lest Peterloo may repeat itself in the form of petrol bombs and police batons.

It is equally incumbent upon the Opposition Leader to conduct a responsible and effective opposition and not to pander to such destructive and ultimately anti-democratic forces

I fear lest Thatcherism creates another 'ism', which rejects the Parliamentary process and endangers the fabric of democracy itself. A pendulum can swing so far that it crashes back, and that is the anxiety I share with Francis Pym and other thoughtful conservatives in recognising the remarkable hat trick achieved by the Prime Minister

CND, THE LABOUR PARTY AND NATO

by Paul Mercer

IN 1960, two years after its formation, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) decided to include withdrawal from NATO as part of its aim, as enshrined in its constitution, its policy unaltered

In September 1982 the Labour Party annual conference voted by a two-thirds majority to support unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain. At the same time it re-affirmed its commitment to NATO. Since then this has remained its policy.

The revival of the CND as a political force in mid-1980 was due, almost entirely, to the NATO decision to deploy Cruise missiles in Britain. Moreover, the pro-unilateralist vote at the 1982 Labour Party conference can largely be attributed to pressure from the CND. The question therefore arises: if the CND is as committed to withdraw from NATO as it is to unilateralism, why were its many adherents within the Labour Party so silent on the issue? To understand this apparent inconsistency, it is first necessary to gain an insight into the internal politics of the CND.

During the 1970s, as Bruce Kent has frequently acknowledged, the CND survived only through receiving the active support of Quakers and the Communist Party: between 1971 and 1977 its Chairman was Dr John Cox, a prominent CP member. With its rapid growth in 1980-81 there was an influx of Labour Party activists who saw opposition to Cruise as a means of attacking the Conservative Government. Thus in 1981 Mrs Joan Ruddock (a failed Labour candidate at the 1979 election) became the new CND Chairman; and by 1982 all of the CND's national officers were members of the Labour Party

Despite this outward shift to the Right, the relationship between the Communist Party members in the CND and the new Labour activists remained close. Indeed some of them, such as Professor Michael Pentz (CND Vice-Chairman, 1982-84), were former CP members. The changes in policy and political outlook were negligible. This intimacy was perhaps best illustrated by Joan Ruddock who, in the course of reviewing a pamphlet by John Cox in the Communist *Morning Star* (21 April 1984), expressed her hope that it would 'encourage all, whatever their political persuasions, to follow John Cox's advice and help sustain and develop the peace movement in a non-sectarian and imaginative way'

This amicable relationship is exactly what the Communist Party wants Unable to achieve any electoral success, it aims to influence the broader Labour movement Unlike other communist groups in Britain, such as the Militant Tendency or Socialist Workers Party (both Trotskyist), it does not seek to impose its views absolutely on everyone it works with, it merely tries to exert a subtle influence to ensure that, in the longer term, the movements it works within are assisting the Communist cause Yet although Communists and fellow-travellers within the CND actively

encourage everyone to subscribe to its view of 'peace', including Conservatives (through the bogus CND front organisation 'Tories Against Cruise and Trident'), they are ruthless in excluding rival communist groups, principally the Trotskyists and hard-line Stalinists. Thus the Socialist League, a Trotskyist sect inside the Labour Party, rightly remarked in mid-1983 that the 'British Communist Party . . has a leading influence in CND' (*International*, May/June 1983); similarly the Socialist Workers Party 'Most of the key CND leaders . . . are either members of or politically close to the Eurocommunist wing of the Communist Party' (*Socialist Review*, 18 April 1981) Even the CP itself admits that it is the case, adding· 'It is no accident that Communists have been to the fore in CND . Why? Because the Communist Party has a multi-sided view of how the struggle of the Left and more widely that of working class, and other sections, must be conducted' (*Comment*, 24 July 1982)

One of the key functions which Communist Party members and fellow-travellers see for themselves within the CND is that of countering anti-Sovietism Of course it would be unhelpful to exhibit a slavish adherence to Soviet foreign policy Consequently the occasional protest against Soviet nuclear weapons is made John Marjoram, one of the few prominent CND activists sincere in their criticism of Moscow, thus commented in January 1985· 'The stark facts are that CND and I speak as a person who has been involved in the movement virtually since its inception, have always been soft on the USSR Within CND's files there are paper resolutions opposing Soviet weaponry but little with any subsequent concrete action.' At the 1983 CND annual conference an emergency resolution was proposed by CND Vice-Chairman Mike Pentz, who had close links with Soviet international front organisations In it he made a mild reproof of a Soviet decision to deploy new nuclear weapons in response to NATO's Cruise and Pershing weapons. Yet even by trying to justify the Soviet reaction it was considered to be too anti-Soviet by many delegates. It therefore fell upon CND Vice-President John Cox — just elected to the National Executive of the Communist Party — to explain that it was important to include this reference to the Soviet Union in order to stop the attacks on the CND for being perceived as pro-Soviet. 'This resolution', he explained, 'is not hostile to the Soviet Union in any way'. Even this was not enough though, with Joan Ruddock later feeling obliged to write to the *Morning Star* (5 January 1984) to explain that the 'CND has always firmly placed the primary responsibility for the nuclear arms race with the United States'

In 1984 the CND simply opted out of getting embroiled in another argument with its Stalinist supporters, with the conference simply deciding not to vote on a resolution which, had it been passed, would have called upon the organisation to 'campaign vigorously against Soviet nuclear weapons and policies' Responding to subsequent criticism by Stalinist Andrew Rothstein of the Communist Party's National Executive for failing 'to take up convincingly the presentation and justification of

the tremendous fight of the Soviet Union and its allies against the nuclear peril to the world', John Cox rebutted the charge. He explained in a letter to the *Morning Star* that Communists had been responsible for blocking the conference resolution That 'CND has passed several anti-Soviet resolutions in previous years', he pointed out, 'is so untrue as to be laughable ' He continued, 'throughout 1984 in line with its philosophy of unilateralism, CND has maintained its primary emphasis on British and US nuclear weapons . . *I personally need no lessons on how to combat 'anti-Sovietism' in the peace movement from armchair peace campaigners The consistent stand of CND for unilateral nuclear disarmament and withdrawal from NATO has been won by working as Communists in a principled non-sectarian way* The Communist Party will not remain credible amongst peace activists in support of Soviet peace policies if we are not prepared to admit that the Soviet Union, on occasions, fails to live up to our ideals ' *(My emphasis)* Cox's attitude — an astute tactical awareness of what Lenin meant when he urged Communists 'to agree to any sacrifice, and even if need be to resort to all sorts of tricks, slyness, illegal methods, evasion and concealment of truth' in order to further the Communist cause — epitomises the way in which Communists work within and manipulate the 'peace' movement for their own ends.

The reluctance of the CND's leadership not to pursue a vociferous anti-NATO campaign, as its Trotskyist and Stalinist members would prefer, is therefore not an indication of its moderation but rather its pragmatism. A recent internal discussion paper, *Labour, the Bomb and Europe*, produced by the National Peace Advisory Committee of the Communist Party, carefully outlined its thinking on NATO It criticised what it called the 'traditionalist Left' for its persistent demands for a Labour-led withdrawal campaign. 'It', the committee noted, 'ignores current public opinion, which is overwhelming in favour of NATO Secondly, the non-aligned option remains a vague chimera, for Britain is not comparable with New Zealand or Sweden or Austria . . The proposition is utopian internationalism ' Its third reason, however, was the most important· the 'sections of the Left which speak most about US imperialism seems to have little practical sense of its real clout. Breaking the institutions and weaponry of the Cold War requires strategic thinking and tactical sense Heading for an all-out confrontation with the world's mightiest power shows neither'

Having steered the revival of the CND in the early 1980s — which led to Labour's endorsement of unilateralism — the Communist Party is now saying that highly significant political gains have been made and that its luck cannot be pushed too far And it is of course absolutely correct Denzil Davies, Labour's defence spokesman has described unilateralism as 'the most radical policy that Labour has ever put to the British electorate'. Opinion polls have consistently shown overwhelming public support for NATO; if Labour were to advocate withdrawal this would only marginalise its political influence and guarantee another Con-

servative term in office. By disguising unilateralism (eg 'stronger conventional forces' or its ostensible commitment to NATO) it might be possible for an anti-nuclear Labour Party to take office

This toning down of the CND's position on NATO is not the only disingenuous aspect to its campaigning Ever since the CND was formed in the 1950s, the accepted route to success was through the election of a unilateralist Labour government As the CND's first General Secretary Peggy Duff remarked in her biography *Left, Left, Left,* 'most of those who established the campaign in 1958 aimed to achieve nuclear disarmament through the Labour Party' It is a view still prevailant today with Lord Jenkins (CND Chairman, 1979-81), writing in *The CND Story* (pp 100-1) that, in his opinion, 'CND's task is to get that undertaking (*ie* unilateralism) in unequivocal terms into Labour's General Election Manifesto and then to get Labour elected.'

To come out openly in support of the Labour Party during a general election, however, would seriously dent its carefully-cultivated 'broad-based' image The CND therefore opted for doing its utmost to hinder the Conservative campaign James Hinton, a member of the campaign's Executive Committee, in a secret strategy paper written in April 1983, further noted that 'for many campaigners the issue is simple Without actually saying so, our intervention should be designed to boost the Labour candidates' Yet when Michael Heseltine, the then Defence Secretary, claimed that this was exactly what the CND was trying to do, he was rebuked by CND Chairman Joan Ruddock, who said. 'His attempts to discredit us is *(sic)* unworthy of a British minister . We all work in a non-partisan way . ' Similar plans were duly laid for the 1987 General Election 146 Conservative marginals have been targetted by the CND with activists being encouraged to work within them to undermine the Conservative vote

Whilst the CND's leadership is dominated by the non-Trotskyist Left of the Labour Party, ably supported by members of the Communist Party, the same cannot be said for Labour CND, a CND 'specialist section' In February 1983 a *coup d'état* was staged, with large numbers of Trotskyists (from the Socialist League and Socialist Organiser Alliance) turning out to support a slate of candidates at its AGM The problem was subsequently raised by Joan Ruddock at a meeting of the CND Executive on 18 June, although the minutes gave no indication of the 'problems' which they discussed At a subsequent meeting, on 29 June, four 'minders' were appointed to sit on the Labour CND Executive with a power of veto on any proposals with which they disagreed

Labour CND was later disbanded for a short period whilst an (unsuccessful) attempt was made to introduce a Trotskyist-proof constitution According to one internal newsletter the last straw for the CND Executive was an attack on Neil Kinnock by a Labour CND Vice-Chairman in the Labour conference edition of the Trotskyist newsletter *Labour Briefing* Kinnock's 'willingness to water down the policy', it declared, 'is deplorable and irresponsible' Not only are CND leaders alleged to have

tried to pressurise the editors of the newsletter not to publish the article, but apparently even sent a delegation to Kinnock to apologise and disassociate the CND from the article.

Criticism of the CND's leadership and the line taken by the Communist Party also comes from the hard-line Stalinists who exist on the fringes of the party Whilst the CND's Trotskyist element criticises the CND leadership for itself being 'Stalinist', the Stalinists attack it for being anti-Soviet. Thus the secretive group Proletarian (which broke away from the New Communist Party, itself a breakaway from the CPGB) in an article entitled 'The anti-Soviet threat to Peace and who should combat it', is critical of the 'revisionists' within the CPGB who are doing nothing, it argues, about the 'anti-Soviet elements who have gained control of the leadership of CND' During the 1986 CND conference Stalinist elements formed a large and well-organised minority which almost succeeded in its confrontation with the CND's 'Eurocommunist' leadership It was successful, however, in preventing the CND from making the 1987 END (European Nuclear Disarmament) convention a major focus for its activities. (Stalinists are particularly contemptuous of END because of its contacts with unofficial 'peace groups in East Europe many of them genuinely believe that END is a CIA covert action operation designed to divide the 'peace' movement Indeed, E P Thompson, END's leading spokesman, was described in the Czech paper *Rude Pravo* as 'a notorious anti-communist working on behalf of the CIA to influence the peace movement according to Washington ideas') According to a report in *Tribune* (21 November 1986), 'in the workshops introduced to conference for the first time this year, speakers expressing even the mildest caution about Soviet intentions were attacked with unusual vigour'.

Labour CND has more recently formed an unholy alliance with a Stalinist grouping, Labour Action for Peace, to wage a co-ordinated anti-NATO campaign within the Labour Party Two joint fringe meetings, 'End All US Bases' and 'NATO and Labour Policies' were convened at the 1986 Labour Party conference Originally formed as a pacifist grouping, LAP demonstrates an unswerving loyalty to the Soviet Union, with close links being maintained with Soviet international front organisations such as the World Peace Council (WPC) Its President, former Labour MP Frank Allaun, was, for instance, a delegate to the WPC's October 1986 'Peace Congress' in Denmark and was an original sponsor of the WPC's British affiliate, the British Peace Assembly

More significantly, the 'Campaign for Non-Alignment' was launched in 1986 by the Campaign Group of Labour MPs Consisting of 'hard' Left Labour MPs — with both pro-Trotskyist and pro-Stalinist leanings — and under the spiritual leadership of Tony Benn, the Campaign Group is the most influential grouping of the Left of the Labour Party Benn regards the latest Labour Party defence document, *A Modern Britain in a Modern World*, which outlines its case for unilateralism, as an exercise in 'policy dilution' Writing in *Campaign Group News* (January 1987), Benn argued that the Labour Party should concentrate on stressing a

number of important points in order to argue the case for unilateralism. They include the 'myth of the Soviet threat', the 'role of the United States as an imperial power', and the relevance of the Soviet peace proposals Whether or not the campaign was advanced would depend largely on the political make-up of the Parliamentary Labour Party at the 1987 election And according to a preliminary survey by Ken Livingstone of Labour parliamentary candidates (*Chartist*, November 1986) it would be 15 per cent Campaign Group, 45 per cent Tribune Group and only 45 per cent centre/right This would be enough to hold a future Labour government to unilateralism but not commit it to opposing NATO

To varying degrees most CND supporters within the Labour Party perceive their support for unilateralism both as a moral and as a party political stance: the destructive power of nuclear weapons are seen as so evil that nothing can countenance their possession. Proponents of nuclear weapons conversely argue that although they are intrinsically evil, this is offset by their role of deterring another evil — Soviet domination of Europe. Support for unilateralism is therefore significantly bolstered if the Soviet Union is no longer regarded as a threat since the anti-unilateralism argument — of balancing two evils — no longer applies

To a large extent this need to play down any Soviet threat explains the importance of pro-Soviet Communists and fellow-travellers in attracting support for unilateralism As Paul Sanderson, secretary of Woking Constituency Labour Party, writing in *The Guardian* (29 December 1986) observed. 'Unilateralism only makes sense if one believes, as I do, that Russia is not a threat and that her armed and apparently hostile posture is caused by fear of the West'. Similarly Joan Ruddock talks about the 'so-called Soviet threat' (*Morning Star*, 19 March 1983).

Labour's defence policies, as many commentators have been at pains to point out, are therefore inconsistent. On the one hand it rejects the notion of a Soviet threat yet, in the forlorn hope of convincing a sceptical electorate that it will not leave Britain defenceless, it pledges itself to support NATO through strong conventional forces

The CND's long-term strategy to achieve unilateralism and withdrawal from NATO was, out of necessity, an intrinsic part of the Communist-backed effort to achieve the election of a Left-led Labour Government The apparent support for the Atlantic alliance from Labour's unilateralists was, moreover, just a transitory phase dictated by the pragmatism needed to get Labour elected at the next election. To pretend otherwise is to be as naive as those who believe that the Soviet Union no longer poses a threat to West Europe, despite new initiatives

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[Paul Mercer's book, *'Peace' of the Dead; The truth behind the nuclear disarmers* (foreword by Lord Chalfont) has recently been published. It is available from Policy Research Publications Ltd, Second Floor, 35 Westminster Bridge Road, London SE1 7JB]

THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE PICTURE

by Colin Simpson

THE British folk-memory of the Afghans, where it exists at all, seems somewhat confused Those who recall the procession up the Mall of the modernising King Amanullah and his beautiful wife in the nineteen-twenties, or the Third Anglo-Afghan War of 1919 — let alone readers of Kipling — are fewer and fewer as the years pass And the image of a scrimmage at a Frontier station does not sit easily with the picture of the patriots of a proud and free nation denying victory to the forces of the high-technology Russian superpower, pushing southwards towards the warm-water ports of the Arabian Sea

I spent most of last year travelling through Afghanistan, from the mountainous Pathan frontier area north of Pakistan to the plains of the Oxus River near the Soviet border Whether in the lands of the northern Turkistanis, the Persianised western Tajiks or the highlanders of the Wakhan Corridor reaching eastwards into China, I found a great unanimity of opinion about the future shape of the country

Nobody wants the King back In exile in Rome since the 1970s, he was deposed by his cousin, Sardar Daud, who is blamed for allowing a handful of Army men, indoctrinated while training in the USSR, to seize power in 1978 When guerrilla warfare threatened to topple this weak government, the Russians were invited in at Christmas 1979

The kingdom has existed only since 1745, before that, Afghanistan was a mixture of tribal and feudal communities, some large, some small; ruled, in effect, by Khans and Mirs respectively. It is those traditional leaders who are now — with increasing effect — dominating the resistance effort in their own areas

The territories and the loyalties overlap to some extent Hence, the mighty Khans of Paghman, the mountains north of Kabul, are also spiritual leaders whose writ runs far beyond their million or so feudal adherents As the senior branch of the Hashimite family, descendants of the Prophet, they can invoke the co-operation of most Afghans Their present chief is The Sayed, Idris Shah, a courtly philosopher without political ambitions, but with enormous moral influence

The Afghans are mainly of the Sunni persuasion in Islam, which means that the influence of the Shiah Khomeini regime in Iran, to the west, has little effect on them Religious fundamentalism is alien to the majority of Afghans, except when the mullahs whip up fervour against an invader Today, it is worth noting, the religious enthusiasts are mainly concentrated in exile in Pakistan, where they head political parties, oppose one another, and receive large donations from the Arabs of the Gulf States. These subventions pay for the large retinues and well-armed 'fighters' parades out to impress foreign newsmen.

Parties, as such, are hardly known on the ground In the Interior Front, as the fighters within Afghanistan call themselves, clan loyalties and

traditional bonds serve as the determining factor.

Time and again, the Pakistan-based, self-styled guerrilla leaders have made the headlines in the West, with their pronouncements on whether post-war Afghanistan will be a secular or a religious State or with claims of victories against the Russians and their Afghan clients inside the country The fact is that the only operationally successful leader — one among many — known outside the country is Ahmad Shah, of the Mahsud Clan, who operates in the Panjsher Valley, north-east of Kabul And he scarcely disguises his impatience with the party leaders

In order to obtain some supplies and, since last October a small number of American Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, junior commanders of the Interior Front visit the Pakistani frontier town of Peshawar and appear to pay homage to the exiled party leaders Ruefully, one of the fighters, commanding twenty thousand men, spoke thus of his need to appear to conform 'We have a proverb', he said, 'to the effect that if the money-lender demands it you shall call him a Khan' But he is careful not to visit Pakistan himself, in case he lends legitimacy to what Colonel Colin Mitchell, after a visit, called the Guicci Guerrillas

There is no doubt among the ordinary Afghans that both the Russians and their Afghan associates ('the traitors') will eventually be expelled. What, then, of the future? Perhaps, knowing their own country and its people better than both the Soviets and their foreign-reared allies, these Afghans reason that the country is useless to the USSR It has some of the most inhospitable terrain on earth· anyone wanting an Arabian Sea port would be better advised to strike southwards through the flatlands of Iran to the east It has no social system upon which Communism could be grafted Two hundred and seventy thousand square miles of largely mountain and desert, peopled by a very hostile people, who have maintained effective resistance for almost eight years, has at least some analogy with Vietnam Not least, in Russian eyes, is their growing unpopularity in the Third World, in this era of Gorbachev's 'Openness'

And the Afghans, in all their recorded history, have been noted for their special way of ruling themselves The basis of this is the institution of the Jirga Each tribe or village elects representatives, who in turn choose their own men to attend the national assembly, the Great Jirga This parliament, the idea of which has an almost mystical importance for the Afghans, is still very much alive Indeed, the war has given it a fillip Again and again I was present at Jirgas held to debate and decide on strategy and tactics Local commanders will use the form, too, in consulting about individual military operations Democracy in action here allows even the youngest individual present to have a say

The increasing use of radio communications among the fighters means that most major resistance commanders are now known to one another In Afghan terms, the only people who have earned the right to pronounce on the country's future after the peace will be those who have distinguish-themselves on the battlefield and that means on the Interior Front.

These commanders are not just unimaginative military men Among the fifty or so whom I met in the field, one could see that the vast majority were sane, level-headed and mature These are the men — and even some women — who will determine the country's future

Educationally, many of them are better qualified than the exiles in Pakistan, who regularly denounce one another for using titles like professor, engineer, and so on, which they do not truly possess In the nature of things, most of the well-qualified Interior Front leaders come from old families who were able to pay for their education Thus the old order, the traditional chieftans and Mirs, perpetuate their authority, providing that their Jirgas confirm that they have won their spurs

This recrudescence of ancient leadership baffles and infuriates the Soviets, who feel that the 'intelligentsia' should welcome the New Dawn. In Afghanistan, however, the members of the traditional ruling families, perhaps because education was confined to a small minority, have never become alienated from their chieftainly roles.

The Russian-backed government in Kabul, desperate to end the fighting and to find some political consensus, offered ex-King Zahir Shah some part in the country's future, in radio broadcasts starting in February 1987 Gorbachev himself repeated the suggestion in an interview with the Italian communist newspaper *L'Unita,* in May Zahir Shah, however, rejected the approach in a statement on 16 June

At the moment, headlines in the press and plans for Soviet withdrawal seem to have faded in the onrush of more immediate and dramatic news items Members of the Interior Front remain undeterred, schooled as they are to patience and upheld by belief in their own future.

THE RETURN OF LEONEL BRIZOLA

by Martin C. Needler

IT is now over twenty years since the military, in coalition with right-wing civilian politicians, seized power in Brazil They were concerned not only to overthrow the weak left-wing government of Joao Goulart, but also to head off a growing radical movement one of whose leaders was Goulart's brother-in-law, Leonel Brizola Brizola, the erst-while Red menace, has just completed a term as Governor of the State of Rio de Janeiro and is planning his campaign for the presidency.

How did this come about? And if the military were once prepared to take control to head off a threat from Brizola, will they not do the same if it looks as though his presidential candidacy might be successful?

Brizola was elected governor in 1982 as part of the re-democratisation of the system that resulted when the 'Constitutionalist' faction within the military gained ascendency over the so-called hard-liners After the 1964 seizure of power, the military had maintained a constitutional façade, limiting the five-star generals who served as President to a single five-year term, and having them elected by an electoral college. The fact that there was competition within the ruling group over the presidency led finally to a split in the government party, with a breakaway faction voting in the electoral college for the opposition presidential candidate in return, among other things, for placing one of their numbers on his ticket as candidate for the vice-presidency. That vice-presidential candidate, Jose Sarney, is now president of Brazil, the opposition ticket carried the electoral college, but the new President, Tancredo Neves, died without beginning his term The democratisation and civilianisation of the government is thus proceeding, but under the auspices of a long-time collaborator with the dictatorship Nevertheless, Brazilians seem univer-sally to believe that the democratisation process has acquired such momentum that it is irreversible.

Part of that process was the re-admission into political life of those who had been proscribed by the dictatorship, and the lifting of restraints on the organization of political parties

In his earlier incarnation, Brizola had been the Governor of the southern cattle-raising state of Rio Grande do Sul, notable for his fiery rhetoric and his calls for revolutionary social change, including land reform Today his language is more moderate, but he remains the *bête noir* of Brazilian conservatives For the most part, however, they do not take seriously his chances of reaching the presidency. In the first place, the strength of his party, the PDT, or Democratic Workers' Party, has been concentrated in Rio de Janeiro and it is not clear whether it will be able to build a national following In the second place, Brizola is opposed absolutely by the Globo communications network, which dominates Brazilian television and is a powerful presence in the newspaper industry, and which loses no opportunity to try to make Brizola look bad, for

example playing up stories of crime in Rio under his governorship to make it look as though law and order had broken down there.

This has not deterred the intellectuals and technocrats who have flocked to Brizola and the PDT, and who have worked with him in constructing what appears to be a five-point programme for gaining the presidency

That programme seems to be more or less as follows:

1. Brizola has created a new image of himself as a Social Democrat — that is, as someone who wants reform and a greater measure of economic equality, but within a constitutional democratic context and accepting, on the whole, the norms of the market economy This refurbishing of his image has been helped by the PDT's affiliation with the Socialist International, which seems to afford Brizola an international acknowledgement of his moderation and ideological coherence at the same time as it associates him with such prestigious world figures as Willy Brandt and Felipe Gonzalez

2 Brizola ran an exemplary government in Rio de Janeiro, despite the federal government dragging its feet in providing the subsidies to which the state is entitled The state government acquired a reputation for honesty and financial prudence at the same time as it compiled a successful record of concrete accomplishment in housing, education, and the delivery of services This provided a solid record to point to in future campaigns

3 Despite Brizola's pre-eminence in the PDT, the party has not been solely a one-man show. In fact, the party has built leadership in depth in Rio The mayor of the city of Rio, Saturnino Braga, is highly regarded, and the party's unsuccessful candidate to succeed Brizola as governor in the recent elections was Darcy Ribeiro, a sociologist of considerable distinction. The party has organised labour union affiliates and has a competent cadre of young-to-middle-aged technocrats, intellectuals and local leaders While the party at present is based predominantly in Rio, many of the second-level leaders came originally from elsewhere, especially from Rio Grande do Sul and the Northeast, and can be expected to return home to organize candidacies.

4 Meanwhile, the party has been building up a network of affiliates and coalitions in the other states. Success has so far been on the weak side of mixed The predecessor of the present PMDB, or Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement, was the only approved opposition party for most of the period of the dictatorship. When the military regime finally allowed the founding of other parties, it was with the hope of splitting the opposition Although this indeed happened, the new dispensation also had the effect of splitting the government party, one faction of which went over to the PMDB Thus the former opposition grouping, with its new allies, is now the dominant force nationally and nominally, at least, the governing party today

In legislative elections, proportional representation is the rule so that a smaller party such as the PDT can secure representation and hope to grow In uninomial elections such as those for governor or senator,

however, a smaller party must make alliances if it is to have any hope of success, and the dominance of the PMDB has meant that in some states, Brizola has seen himself as forced to make alliances with forces of the centre and right. These alliances, given the country's recent history, have been denounced in one of the progressive newspapers as alliances 'of the tortured and the torturers.' Such a coalition appeared especially bizarre in Pernambuco, where Francisco Juliao, the advocate of land reform, was the PDT leader and candidate for senate, but backed the landowners' candidate for governor in the expectation of receiving support for his own senate candidacy. In Sao Paulo, the majority of the PDT supported the unsuccessful gubernatorial candidacy of Paulo Maluf, the swashbuckling multi-millionaire who was the military government's candidate for president, defeated by Tancredo Neves in the last election.

Sao Paulo represents a particular problem for Brizola. The most populous state, its voting support is all but essential for a victorious presidential candidacy In Sao Paulo, however, the PDT is perhaps the fifth strongest political force Despite his recent defeat Maluf remains strong; he is a former governor of the state, backed by its powerful business interests and large middle class The present governor is from the PMDB, strong in Sao Paulo as everywhere in Brazil However, the Paulistas are not particularly loyal party voters, and the PMDB's candidate for Mayor of the city of Sao Paulo in the last local elections, the brilliant sociologist and senate leader Fernando Henrique Cardoso, was beaten by the erratic demagogue and former president, Janio Quadros, now the leader of the centrist PTB, or Brazilian Workers' Party In point of fact, there is an authentic Workers' Party in Sao Paulo State, the PT, led by 'Lula', Luis Inacio da Silva, the former leader of the steel workers' union, which means that Brizola and his party are not even the dominant force on the left there Clearly, the PDT has somehow to solve the problem of Sao Paulo if Brizola is to have any chance of reaching the presidency In recognition of the problem, the party executive decided in August, 1986, that when Brizola finishes his term as Governor of Rio he should go to live in Sao Paulo to build support there himself directly. The magnetism of Brizola's personality is such that this may indeed prove to be feasible.

5 Brizola has made himself the leading critic of President Sarney's economic policy This seemed like a fatal mistake in January, 1986, when the president announced his Plan Cruzado, which introduced a new monetary unit while freezing wages and prices in a universally popular, and initially successful, attempt to end the country's horrendous inflation. More recently, however, Sarney has had to introduce supplementary measures, including new taxes and compulsory loans, which began to erode his popularity and thus make Brizola's future look that much brighter Brizola is a long way from giving up hope, for he knows that, now as always, in Brazil anything is possible.

MERE FORMALITIES

by John Elsom

IN London, I was advised to pick up my Czech visa, a mere formality, in Havana, and if this sounds a roundabout way of doing things, well, perhaps it was and perhaps it wasn't, but it seemed sensible at the time, and in any case there was no real alternative, apart from kicking up a fuss, which naturally being British I was reluctant to do

I had been invited to a Congress in Cuba and the major set design exhibition and contest in Prague, the Prague Quadrennial, one event following hard on the heels of the other By a pleasant coincidence, the cheapest way of getting to Havana was by Czech airlines and via Prague, and via a lot of other places too including Montreal, a scenic route; and so it seemed logical to jet around the Northern Hemisphere, stopping off in Havana for a week and then in Prague for four days, provided that my visas came through, which since I was an invited guest in both places should not prove too much of an obstacle

Of course, I'd left things a little late A month may be a very long time in politics, but it's short for visa applications If I'd been a tourist, visas to both Cuba and Czechoslavakia could have been issued quite quickly, but my letters of invitation had to be confirmed and telexes sent in various directions, and travel grants obtained from the British Council, and formalities observed, with the result that the press attaché at the Czech consulate in London told me that in his opinion I should fill out the form in London, with two photographs, of course, and collect the actual visa stamp in Havana It would give us a week longer and save a great deal of hassle.

The Czech consulate in Havana is open on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, from 9 00 to 12 00 in the morning Since I'd arrived in Havana on Sunday night, and had my passport taken at the hotel for checking and also to confirm my flight to Prague on the following Sunday, and in any case the opening ceremony of the Congress had to be attended, more mere formalities, I was not able to get along to the consulate until Wednesday, when at noon I was supposed to be delivering an address to the Congress Accordingly, at eight thirty on Wednesday morning, I set out to collect my visa, bright and early, in time to arrive, speech in hand, at the Palace of the Conventions

There were small problems on the way. Mistakenly, I went to the Czech embassy, rather than the consulate, not knowing that they were in separate places, and having too little Spanish to get from one place to the other, when I realised my error Everybody is very helpful in Cuba, but there weren't any taxis, and those in the bus queue were enormously supportive but only spoke one word of English apiece, as did everybody else in the bus, and they were so good at giving me directions and explaining to the bus driver where I really needed to go, that the bus driver eventually took matters into his own hand and took me very nearly to

the doorstep of the consulate, which was nearly on his route, but not quite, and meanwhile the hands of the clock were ticking towards high noon, or at least 10.45

The visa, of course, was not at the consulate It hadn't arrived. It could well arrive by Friday, when the office would open again, but to be on the safe side, the secretary there gave me another form to fill up, which only needed two more photographs and an official stamp to be quite as valid as a visa application as the one applied for in London I could collect one or the other on Friday, and since by now there was no time to argue, being nearly 11 30 and far from the conference hall, where the delegates and, yes, television and video cameras were assembling, and the secretary only spoke Spanish anyway, which made argument difficult, I filled up the second form and promised to bring the two photos with me on Friday There was, thank God, a taxi outside, which took me to the Palace of Conventions with three minutes to spare, no problem.

Thursday, comparatively speaking, was a rest day, meetings from 9 00 to 6 00, then the theatre, and afterwards a magnificent reception at the Palace of the Revolutions, where Fidel Castro himself welcomed the delegates

The Congress's symbol was of Eleggua, a god originating from Africa, of luck (good and bad), whose day is Monday, who opens roads and governs the fortunes of travel On the Gold Coast, there still stands the castle of Elmina, where the slave traders would round up their human cattle to send them off to the sugar plantations of the Caribbean There is a tunnel in the castle, dug by the slaves to escape into the broad crocodile infested river, where those who could swim would panic for the nearest shore and freedom perhaps, and at a bend in the tunnel, there is still a mud statue to Eleggua, for offerings to the success of these dangerous journeys The face of the god is distinctive, divided into four quarters, painted red and black alternatively In Havana, the colours were red and white, but the message was the same, and appropriate to the Congress's theme of 'the theatre as a means of discovering and developing cultural identity' The many countries present which had recently or comparatively so escaped from colonial rule regarded the assertion of their own nationhoods as being the necessary first step towards playing a more active part on the world's stage and stages, and so Eleggua became the symbol of the most dangerous journey of them all, the quest for the self

At Castro's party, I behaved with conspicuous moderation, toying with the *mohitos,* the delicious rum based cocktail, sampling but not devouring the lobsters, for on Friday, while the other delegates were taking a day off by the beach, I had to sort out the matter of my visa once and for all, and although it was bound to be a mere formality, I couldn't help wondering whether Eleggua's dark side might not be turned towards me and hold further surprises in store And so I went to bed at three o'clock in the morning, while the party was still in full swing and was up at seven o'clock to find a photo booth in Havana, where I could get a couple of Instamatic snaps and then off to the consulate

There are no photobooths in Havana and no Instamatic cameras either

The photographer's shop opened at 12 00 in the morning, which was the time when the Consulate shut.

This came as a surprise to me, for I had assumed that what with the general demand for identity cards, work permits and other such matters in Cuba, small photos would be a boom industry; and the growing tourist market in Cuba would surely, I thought, have introduced Instamatics to the island What I had misunderstood were two details — firstly that to the average Cuban, work permits and travel were not subjects to be treated lightly but required much planning in advance, and secondly that there is a strongly upheld division between the tourists with their hard currency and consumer luxuries and the normal life of the Cubans. Each block of flats, I was told, had a Supervisor, to whom you first had to apply if as a Cuban you wanted to move around even within the country. The Supervisors also sometimes searched for evidence of illegal trafficking in hard currency products like cameras, tape-recorders or other such goods The average Cuban, even if given dollars, has no legal ways of spending them in the hard currency shops

The penalties can be severe, although the temptation is high, which meant that even if a Cuban had an Instamatic camera, he or she was unlikely to admit as much. Now thoroughly alarmed, I threw myself at the endlessly helpful Cuban congress organisers Was there no way of persuading the photographer's shop to open early? Could anyone explain to the Czech consulate the urgent problem of my visa, for I had intended to leave for Prague on Sunday morning and Friday was the last day to obtain the visa?

The Cubans phoned through to the Czech consulate on my behalf, who agreed to stay open until I'd visited the photographer and been driven to the consulate by one of the Cuban officials And incidentally, had the visa applied for in Britain arrived? No, it hadn't.

The photographer's shop was situated on the ground floor of a large block of flats It was run by a dignified gentleman with a black waxed moustache, whose deportment revealed his status, which was roughly that of an eminent Italian teacher of 'bel canto' singing in a French provincial town He after all held the key to what was presumably for many Cubans a key aspect to their identities, their identity papers. It was from these that other people could tell who they were, what they were and what they were supposed to be doing The Congress itself could have devoted its attention to the modern matter of identity papers, the formalities of establishing presences in the world.

He led me into his studio, where the pride-of-place was taken by an enormous box camera, with a black hood, a birdie to watch and a rubber bulb with which to ignite the flash A first impression of Cuba for the visitor must be of the curious mixture of the old-fashioned and the modern In the streets, for example, there are so many very old American cars, enormous Studebakers, Ford Dodges, Buicks; and in the studio,

there were the photographic equivalents — props for wedding and anniversary photos, for romantic settings and statesmanlike ones There were Grecian urns and pillars, potted palms, screens of ancient Egypt and sun-drenched beaches In one sense, you could choose your identity from the props, lie glamourously on a couch with one knee invitingly raised, or pose before some congress building For a visa, a plain bench in front of a white backcloth seemed appropriate, if a little like a prison mug shot The photographer whose aesthetic instincts were thwarted by such simplicity, grumbled a bit — but took the picture

He then told me that the photo would take at least twenty-four hours to develop, but if I could leave it a week. .

At the Czech consulate, I had to explain that, no, I didn't actually have the photos with me but I could get them by Saturday, and would it be possible perhaps for me to collect my visa at Prague airport? Or, failing that, to return to the consulate on Saturday, when they were not supposed to be open, but under these exceptional circumstances perhaps...

This was when Eleggua showed the beneficient side The consul could not have been more helpful the Cuban official with me was like a marvellous defence lawyer, summing up my predicament in a way which made me wish that I was on trial for something more dignified than the right to attend the Prague Quadrennial. The solution was simple, but dramatically unexpected I could have my visa, but I would have to stick on the photographs myself when I got them. It was like a licence to print my own passport.

And the photos when I received them the following day were also surprising They were an excellent likeness. They made me look twenty-five years old and a Cuban I was warned not to grow a beard, as it might invalidate my visa.

Coming from a Liberal tradition, non-conformist and humanist, I am temperamentally inclined to view all identity papers with suspicion. They smack of totalitarian states, of the pass laws in South Africa, of the desperate queues at Heathrow Airport and of state-less, which means paperless, persons shuttling from country to country in the effort to find a government which would take a lenient view of their non-identities Through identity papers, governments herd people into and through the right lobbies, sorting them out as in a giant filing cabinet They seem inhuman

But I come from the privileged West and North Elsewhere in the world, the fear of being stateless — or rather of having no real country to whom one can be said to belong — is like a gut terror. One of the saddest poems in Anglo-Saxon, *The Wanderer,* describes what it is like — to have lost not just your family and friends, but the whole tribe to which you once felt you belonged Many of the 'new', post-colonial countries have to grapple with an endemic lostness among their peoples The nations themselves have been drawn arbitrarily on Western maps, with boundaries cutting across tribal districts and legislatures modelled either on the Westminster pattern or on the collective states of Eastern Europe

The sense of national identity has to be fostered and re-constructed — which is one reason why the International Theatre Institute held its Congress on Cultural Identity in Cuba. The national jingoism, so long out of fashion in the West, comes into its own in the Third World; and it is a way of encouraging loyalty to new-formed states which cannot rely upon long and stable traditions.

Nor are the omens encouraging for these new states. With boundaries quite as artificial as that which separates Ulster from Eire, they also have to grapple with economies so dependent on outside forces that they cannot really be said to be in charge of their own affairs Even Cuba, that model of an effective socialist state to Central and South America, depends on trade agreements with the Soviet Union that *glasnost* may undermine. Its exports to the Soviet Union are sugar, coffee, rum and tobacco. But the Soviet Union is in the midst of an anti-alcohol, anti-smoking campaign Will the vodka manufacturers wish to see privileges extended to Cuba, when their trade is falling? Will it be so necessary for the Soviet Union to support a base in the Caribbean? Like all client economies, Cuba is vulnerable — as are all those countries who rely on supplying raw materials to the East and West and are not in a position to influence, let alone dictate, terms.

The fragile economic and political stability of many Third World countries leads to a psychological uncertainty as well, which is why it is comforting to hold identity papers in one's hands and say, 'This is who I am. That is where I come from. These are the rights to which I am entitled ' There is a great gap between those like me who regard a visa as a mere formality and the kind of bureaucratic nonsense which one has to endure to get to pleasurable events like the Prague Quadrennial, and those for whom it signals life or death. Human identity is also a question of class

LIBERAL UNIONISM IN SCOTLAND

by J. T. Ward

BETWEEN the first and third Reform Acts of 1832 and 1885 Scotland was as overwhelmingly Liberal as it is currently socialist; indeed, Liberal domination was generally more complete Tories won 22 of the 53 Scottish seats in Peel's *annus mirabilis* of 1841 and 20 of 60 in Disraeli's triumphant year of 1874 Otherwise, their Members varied between 20 in 1837 and 1852 and 7 in 1880; the rest were an alliance of assorted Whigs, Liberals and 'Radicals'

This picture was true of 'North Britain' as a whole, in county and burgh alike Liberals dominated the Press, industry, commerce, the professions, most banks, transport, the professoriate in the four universities, the higher positions in the Law, the ministries of the Free and United Presbyterian (though not the Episcopalian and established Church of Scotland) denominations and the burgh clubs In the countryside (with the notable exceptions of the Dukes of Buccleuch and Richmond and Gordon), most major landowners — headed by Britain's first and third largest proprietors, the Duke of Sutherland and Marquess of Breadalbane — were also Whig-Liberals.

Gladstone's reform seemed likely to perpetuate this situation, by enfranchising rural working men and miners In 1885, when 'North Britain' had 72 Parliamentary seats, Gladstone's Liberals gained 62 and Lord Salisbury's Conservatives 10 But the pattern was about to change dramatically

In December 1885 Gladstone hinted at plans to restore an Irish Parliament, immediately opening cleavages in the increasingly uneasy alliance which constituted the Liberal Party At first privately but with increasing publicity, opposition to even a moderate measure of 'Home Rule' mounted from 'left' and 'right' alike, not least because of Gladstone's unwonted vagueness

The 'G O M ' succeeded Salisbury as premier in January 1886 and soon discovered the extent of Liberal divisions The Marquess of Hartington, hereditary custodian of aristocratic Whiggish tradition, the veteran anti-aristocrat John Bright, the lawyer Sir Henry James and the merchant George Joachim Goschen refused to join the Ministry. In March the radical Birmingham manufacturer Joe Chamberlain and the literary Northumbrian baronet Sir George Otto Trevelyan resigned from the Cabinet Nevertheless, in April Gladstone introduced his fateful Bill

Much furtive manoeuvering ensued, with Salisbury and his brilliantly astute principal agent 'Skipper' Richard Middleton promising Hartington that Liberal supporters of the Union of 1801 would not be opposed at the next general election It was a sign of a new political power that they could make such an offer and generally keep it By May a 'Liberal Unionist' committee was established and on 8 June 93 Liberals, headed by Hartington and Chamberlain, noisily broke the Victorian Liberal

alliance of 1859 by joining the Tories in defeating 'Home Rule' in the Commons

Just as the Peelites only gradually rejected Protectionist calls for a Conservative reunion in the mid-century, so most 'Liberal Unionists' were reluctant permanently to break old ties An early union with old enemies was as unattractive in the 'eighties as it had been to Graham and Gladstone three decades earlier. Consequently, another third British party was created

Nowhere was this development more important than in Scotland. Not only were there historic links with the largely Presbyterian Ulster 'settlement', but more recent Irish settlements — both 'Orange' and 'Green' — in Scotland, particularly around Glasgow and in Dundee. Trevelyan, M.P. for Hawick since 1868, had been Gladstone's Scottish Secretary; defeated in 1886, he rejoined the Liberals and sat for Bridgeton (Glasgow) in 1887-97 Goschen, 'independent Liberal' Member for East Edinburgh from 1885, was also defeated (by the Rev Prof. Robert Wallace, editor of *The Scotsman*) and moved to England But about a third of erstwhile Liberals effected a revolution in Scottish politics

At the July 1886 election Scottish Liberals still led, with 43 seats, but were opposed by 12 Tories and 17 Liberal Unionists Middleton's recommendations, relayed by James Ferguson in Edinburgh, were accepted by Tory associations and their National Union No Conservatives opposed Liberal Unionists in Scotland (though rival Liberal Unionists fought each other at Leith, following Gladstone's decision to sit for Midlothian)

To ensure this result, the Scottish 'Liberal Committee for the Maintenance of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland' held secret meetings with the National Union of Conservative Associations for Scotland It copied Tory organisational structure by establishing a Western divisional council (in May), an Eastern council (in November) and a network of constituency associations And while bourgeois Liberal Unionists would not join Edinburgh's Scottish Conservative Club (1877) or Glasgow's Constitutional (1880) and Conservative (1894) Clubs, they could co-operate in Glasgow's Imperial Union Club.

The consequences were remarkable For instance, in Protestant West Renfrewshire Liberal Unionists questioned the Gladstonian William Dunn and Tory Sir Archibald Campbell on 'the Irish Question' and favoured the latter In East Renfrewshire they virtually drove out the indecisive Liberal James Finlayson and helped the Tory Michael Shaw-Stewart to defeat James Samuelson Industrial Renfrewshire (in 1869 a safe refuge for carpet-bagging Liberal Henry Bruce) turning Tory was noteworthy But it delighted the Western president, Sir Edward Colebrooke, a veteran Liberal M P who first entered the Commons in 1842 and who (at the age of 73) bravely but unsuccessfully contested North-East Lanarkshire

In the counties generally Conservatives and Liberal Unionists readily made agreements, with varying success The Tory ironmaster John Baird not surprisingly lost North-West Lanarkshire; but the landowner John

Malcolm won Argyll and James Hozier South Lanarkshire. For Liberal Unionism, Sir Robert Jardine, James Barclay, Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, Alexander Craig Sellar, Sir Donald Currie and the Hon. Arthur Elliot respectively held Dumfries, Forfar, Inverness, Partick (Lanarkshire), West Perth and Roxburgh, while the woollen manufacturer Walter Thorburn won Peebles and Selkirk.

The cities and burghs posed different problems Whereas in the 'shires' the defection of such 'political' landowners as the 8th Duke of Argyll, the 6th Earl of Fife (the Scottish Liberal president), the 3rd Earl of Camperdown, the 11th Lord Kinnaird, the 4th Earl of Minto, the 11th Marquess of Huntly, the 5th Marquess of Lansdowne, the 8th Duke of Roxburghe, the 10th Earl of Stair and the 3rd Duke of Sutherland might affect deferential bucolic voters, urban electorates had fewer natural leaders

Burgh Toryism now largely rested on two principal props. some middle-class clubs and an expanding network of associations, pioneered by the populist Working Men's groups of the 'seventies Some (but even around Glasgow, few) of the latter had explicit 'Orange' connections Eighty-three groups were affiliated to the Scottish Union in 1885 and 286 ten years later. Tory strength was supplemented by the extraordinarily successful Primrose League, founded by Sir Henry Drummond-Wolff in Disraeli's memory in 1883 The League was Britain's largest political organisation by 1886 and had a million members by 1891 Although such quasi-freemasonry had less appeal in Scotland than in England, the Scottish Grand Council of 1885 could report over 97,000 members by 1897

Scots Tories long asserted their 'Scottishness', by producing their own literature, culminating in 1892 with the first classic issue of the still-continuing *Campaign Guide,* the best of political handbooks Liberal Unionists could not hope to match Tory organisation, especially after Captain Middleton's reorganisation of 1890, when he appointed the redoubtable Colonel Arthur Haig as chief Scottish agent But they could provide businessmen, academics, ministers and landowners to leaven the rather lawyer-dominated Tory ranks, they added some proletarian supporters to Tory Democracy, and, above all, they could bring M P s

Even the Unionist alliance could not seriously dent such Liberal bastions as Aberdeen and its hinterland, Dundee, Paisley, Perth and the Elgin, Kirkcaldy, Leith, Montrose, Stirling and Wick districts of burghs But the soldier Richard Campbell held the Ayr burghs, the merchant William Sinclair won Falkirk district; the shipping director Thomas Sutherland retained the Greenock burghs, and the lawyer Robert Finlay held Inverness district Two successes were brief the soldier-laird Sir Robert Anstruther easily held St Andrews district, but died in July; and the lawyer Thomas Buchanan (West Edinburgh) returned to the Liberals in 1888. Only in Kilmarnock district did the Tory farmer-engineer Peter Sturrock lose a seat, but he had won it because of Liberal divisions

Buchanan's brief victory was the first break with Liberalism since 1832 in the capital — which returned a Conservative only in 1909 But the major breakthrough occurred in industrial Glasgow, where 'Unionists' won three of seven seats. The landowner Archibald Corbett (Tradeston) and the lawyer-merchant James Caldwell (St Rollox) were Liberal Unionists who reverted (in 1909 and 1892 respectively); the soldier-laird J G.A. Baird became the city's second Tory M.P. in Central.

Palpably, the inner-party agreement worked well, becoming stronger when Goschen entered Salisbury's cabinet in 1887 and being cemented in 1895, when Hartington (now 8th Duke of Devonshire), Chamberlain, James and Lansdowne joined Salisbury's third Ministry But local arrangements varied. In Camlachie (Glasgow) Tories lazily left the work to Liberal Unionists, whose candidate, the seed merchant Alexander Cross (a former Glasgow Liberal chairman), held the seat from 1892 until rejoining the Liberals in 1910 In nearby St Rollox the associations merged in 1889, lost the seat in 1892 and returned the Tory stockbroker Ferdinand Begg in 1895 and the Liberal Unionist merchant John Wilson in 1900 Others had joint 'general committees', such as Greenock in 1892 and Kincardine in 1901. In the West the great Tory agent Lewis Shedden and the Liberal Unionist organiser Walter Blench centrally organised such collaboration

As the Scottish Press became Unionist (though rarely Tory), prominent businessmen increasingly entered the Commons The Conservatives included the shipbuilders Sir William Pearce (Govan, 1885-8) and John Denny (Kilmarnock, 1895-1906) and the manufacturers Charles Renshaw (West Renfrew, 1892-1906), Archibald (Dumbartonshire, 1868-92) and Charles Orr-Ewing (Ayr burghs, 1895-1903) and James Reid (Greenock, 1900-6) Liberal Unionists included the pioneer of ocean telegraphy Sir John Pender (Wick burghs, 1892-6), the bridge-builder Sir William Arrol (South Ayrshire, 1895-1906) and the coalmaster John Wilson (Falkirk, 1895-1906) — who, however, joined the Liberals in 1904.

It was symptomatic of the *fin de siècle* that the dour iron merchant Andrew Bonar Law, a future Tory leader and premier, was first elected in downtown Glasgow (Blackfriars and Hutchesontown) in 1900 For Parliamentary success was generally sustained In 1892, the year of Gladstone's last triumph, Scottish Tories fell to 10 Members and Liberal Unionists to 12, against 50 Liberals Three years later the figures were 19, 14 and 39 And in 1900 the Liberal stranglehold was finally toppled, as 21 Tories, 17 Liberal Unionists and 34 Liberals were returned

Undoubtedly, Liberal Unionism brought men of great talent to the coalition — such as the Glasgow scientist Lord Kelvin, the religious 10th Earl of Stair, the novelist Sir Arthur Conan-Doyle (candidate for Central Edinburgh in 1900 and Hawick in 1906), the Cunard chairman Lord Inverclyde, the judges Lords Kinnear, Shand and Moncrieff, the 12th Earl of Dundonald, Sir Andrew Agnew and several academics But there were hazards To non-Chamberlainite Liberal Unionists Free Trade

remained a sacred principle and threats to it would provoke some into following Trevelyan's path of 1887 back to Liberalism. Secondly, there were some local difficulties. For instance, Temperance advocates like Corbett disliked some Glasgow Tories' sociability. And in South Aberdeen Tories (and many 'socialists') cheerfully supported the labour champion Maltman Barry, but his Marxist past proved too much for Professor Dove Wilson's Liberal Unionists in 1895

The 'khaki' election of 1900 proved to be the alliance's last achievement. Incredibly, Glasgow Liberalism collapsed — to the Tory lawyer Charles Scott Dickson, the scholar-landowner Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Baird and Bonar Law and the Liberal Unionists Cross, Corbett and Wilson. Even Edinburgh returned two Liberal Unionists (Sir Lewis McIver and Agnew) to two Liberals But under a Scottish leader, Arthur Balfour, and partly because of Cabinet rifts engineered by such Scots as Charles Ritchie, Elliot and the 6th Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the Unionist Ministry collapsed in December 1905 A month later the Tory alliance suffered its worst defeat in history In the general armageddon, Scottish Tory M P s were reduced to 8 and Liberal Unionists to 4 Liberals numbered 58 and 'Labourites' 2.

As the last, great Liberal Government took office under the Glaswegian Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (son of the first Glasgow Tory president and brother of a Tory M P and first Scottish Union president), Unionism faced bleak prospects As in 1832 or 1945, the road back to success looked more difficult than it proved, but it was troublesome enough In January 1910 Scottish Tories returned 8 M P.s, Liberal Unionists 3, Liberals 59 and 'Labour' 2, in December the figures were 7, 4, 58 and 3 The first major organisational reaction occurred in 1912-13, when the Alloa brewer Sir George Younger (Tory M P for Ayr in 1906-22) persuaded the two 'right-wing' groups to merge, as the Scottish Unionist Association, from January 1913.

Scottish Liberal Unionism thus followed its English counterpart into the legion of discarded political titles So also did the Conservative name — to Balfour of Burleigh's horror — until it was revived (to some 'traditionalist' annoyance) in 1965. The 26 years of collaboration did, however, importantly affect Scottish politics. British-Irish (and, by implication, Anglo-Scottish) unity had been maintained The Scottish 'Right' had been galvanised by an accession of able bourgeois members, and — albeit temporarily — by unaccustomed Press support From the embers of 1910 a phoenix was to arise, originally in another Tory-Liberal alliance eight years later.

[We record with regret the recent death of the author, Professor J T Ward He was Professor of Modern History at the University of Strathclyde.]

A PARADISE LOST: THE NEO-ROMANTIC IMAGINATION IN BRITAIN 1935-55

by Philip Vann

MANY of the artists whose works are shown in 'A Paradise Lost: The Neo-Romantic Imagination 1935-55' recently at the Barbican Art Gallery seem only now to be coming back into favour in mainstream art-appreciative circles. Certainly, during the 1960s and 70s, the intensely poetic figurative work of the artists Cecil Collins, Keith Vaughan, John Craxton and John Minton was greatly (malignly even) neglected, as avant-garde, anti-figural notions appeared to triumph The return to the art of the quest, of the human figure, of vulnerable, interior worlds, which begin again to inform much contemporary British art, is in a sense partly a return to the kind of sensibility pervasive in this exhibition It is perhaps only now that we are able to look with a greater objectivity at the Neo-Romantic Imagination.

How can one concisely define, or at least evoke, this sensibility? After viewing this exhibition containing much work from his early manhood, Cecil Collins, now seventy-nine years of age, was heard to say that it leaves overall a 'fragrance' Very little art of the 60s and 70s, however good or interesting, can be said to leave 'a fragrance' This impression must be related to a particular British tradition of imaginative richness and ripeness, traceable in artists and poets through the ages — George Herbert, Andrew Marvell, Samuel Palmer, William Blake, Richard Jeffries, Edward Thomas Here is the perfume of Arcadian gardens, of acres of immortal, orient wheat, and left by the sunflower's progress. This tradition, or perhaps more correctly 'strand', is by its nature a metaphysical one, suggesting an imaginative Paradise of the artist's mind, as much as a literally rural or horticultural one It is a sensibility that integrates anxieties, apprehensions and insecurities, rather than discarding or polarising them. It integrates 'the fair' with 'the foul'.

The charge that is often brought against metaphysical, Arcadian art of this kind is that it is escapist, reactionary and irrelevant Specifically, in this case — 'Between 1935-55', the accuser may say, 'the world experienced terror, conflict and genocide on an inconceivable scale, and all Craxton could draw were moony poets in woods, while Collins painted unwordly, whimsical Fools'. Such a simplistic charge misses many points, but it is indeed the kind of argument sometimes put forward My reaction (arising from this exhibition) is to feel that the *best* Neo-Romantics were, in the midst of worldwide terror and then horrible revelation and privations, expressing a very human response to contemporary realities. Far from hiding or escaping from them, they were rather elucidating them by remaining open to human potential for love and creativity, whilst being full of grief and aware of amazing menace.

The first picture to be seen as you enter is 'The Vale of Aylesbury' (1933) by Rex Whistler. In a style emulating 18th century pastoral, a

young man is depicted sitting under a broadly spreading tree in the perfect, green landscape The work's perfection is stifling Now, if this is all the Neo-Romantic Imagination in British art was about, then the charges brought by the accuser would ring resoundingly true. The painting's self-conscious lyricism — and perhaps more, its air of privileged indolence — irritates

Then we come onto pictures by other artists on a similar theme — that of the sensitive young man, dreamer, artist, poet—alone in a landscape—which in their beautiful self-containment, stillness and depth, quickly dispel our gathering irritation During the War years, John Craxton (b 1922) created a body of work, which without pretensions, should rank highly in the history of modern British art. Samuel Palmer and Rimbaud were two of the main influences on a remarkable series of pencil, and ink and chalk drawings of solitary young male figures in woods and landscapes. 'Dreamer in a Landscape' (1942) depicts a fair, tousle-headed man — with strangely thick yet delicate hands and face in dense foreground mass of undergrowth-become-overgrowth as hardly a millimetre of paper is not overwhelmed by curling, prickly, spikey, tendrilled nature One small crescent of un-inked, un-chalked paper at the back forms the moon. There is romantic beauty here in the images of boy, moon and wood, but also menace and disorientation in unpruned, spiralling nature

Another work of this period, 'Poet in a Landscape' (1941), shows another (the same?) young man sitting, book in hand, under a tree of oddly exaggerated tuberous growth (part of an artistic vocabulary of forms Craxton shared with his contemporaries, notably Sutherland and Ceri Richards), amidst a Palmeresque field of corn The dynamically-growing undergrowth and the meditative poet's innergrowth are graphically allied The picture's lunar magic is real, not escapist It is revealing to read catalogue notes from a recent interview with Craxton Speaking of these pictures, he says, 'Like Palmer I painted dark sombre pictures with moon and mysterious atmospheres, but these were as much the outcome of my experience of the blackout and the tensions of wartime London as anything else ' This statement confirms the kind of deeply personal artistic genesis that one suspects is there Craxton's wartime neo-romantic drawings are so palpably real, so lucidly informed with authentic emotion, as to be self-evidently rooted in the artist's contemporary experience As such, they are rooted in common contemporary experience

Cecil Collins is sometimes considered to be an a-political artist, strictly concerned with an idiosyncratic private vision The very impressive display of his works here shows in fact how alive and alert he was to the political forces of his day — in the kind of manner of his contemporary, the seer-poet David Gascoyne We now look back on the period of the Second World War as being, in most respects, hell on earth. Only the artist of real visionary sensibility, such as Collins or Craxton in his wartime drawings, can somehow encapsulate for us the deeper psychic currents of so immeasurably dark a period During the 30s, Collins

had exhibited as a Surrealist, but, refusing to compromise his vision by allying it to a rigidly formulaic presentation of the unconscious, he left the Movement. There is a marvellous wall here of large paintings by Collins, but it is on some of his much smaller, but no less powerful pictures (perhaps *more* powerful because of their real intimacy), that I wish to concentrate 'Dawn' (1939) is a very small work, embodying whole worlds of mysteriousness This shows a mountainscape, peaks tipped with white of snow or light from clear, dense blue skies In the flat earthly foreground, stands a table with Edwardian-like thick legs, and white table cloth, bathed blue, like the mountainscape, in blue light. On the cloth are mystical or symbolic objects, including a goblet Cocteau wrote that his definition of poetry could be summed up in the image of household furniture seen out of doors — a field of furniture! This surreal element of surprise and incongruity is present here; to define it further would be to relate this work (and much of Collins' *oeuvre* besides) to that kind of peculiar twentieth century poetry summed up by de Chirico. The odd, beautiful, frightening stillness of de Chirico's townscapes can be related to the mood of many Collins' works, including the preternaturally clear 'Dawn' 'Dawn' reminds us, in a vivid, almost sensuous way, of possibilities of renewal open to us all, even in the midst of barrenness, but the incongruous image of the table tells us something disturbing about human society, rather as de Chirico's odd juxtapositions do

'The Poet' (c 1942), another small oil, contains a wealth of imagery and experience The same kind of Cocteauesque, de Chiricoan incongruity is here — a poet with book sits at a table in a field, trees behind him. The seated poet is seen through a break in the wall, where it has been partly demolished or has fallen down (There is no rubble) In the middle foreground is an empty armchair, with a sheet or robe swathed over one arm On the left, a bird sits in a tree. There is clearly communication between bird and poet — through and over the wall How tenderly moving is the glimpse of long-haired, woe-begone poet through the break in the wall Many thoughts spring quite spontaneously to mind when looking at this picture, with its lovely, lightly applied blues and greens My immediate thoughts (for what they are worth) were· the broken wall represents break-down of human society and consciousness; the sweetly sad poet suggests the injured, suffering poetic conscience of humankind, the empty armchair evokes both human emptiness and (with its sheet or robe) fresh possibilities, the secret relationship between bird and poet evokes a pattern of creaturely kinship, even love, which survives even through (perhaps partly because) of the break in the wall Collins is neither an intellectual nor an instinctive artist, but his work seems to operate on a level marrying intellect and instinct, even transcending them in a new context of 'felt-thought'. The Collins' countryside is clearly English, but those trees, rivers and hillsides are also archetypally Arcadian, though in a traditionally English, poetic way Far from being escapist, Collins reveals himself to 'an antenna of the race', intuitively in touch with the deeper currents of historical and political reality

It cannot be overstated, the natural therapeutic role that idealising representations of males plays in times of War, when male soldiers die in thousands and millions. In Wartime (and, to a lesser degree, in Peacetime), men are expected to be as brave, ruthless, mechanical and invulnerable as possible. Many of the artists showing in this exhibition are homosexual, though not all A recent highly thoughtful and original book, *The Sexual Perspective. Homosexuality and Art in the Last 100 Years in the West* by Emmanuel Cooper (Routledge & Kegan Paul) explores the art and lives of many of these artists, including John Craxton, Keith Vaughan, John Minton, Robert Colquhoun, Denton Welch and Francis Bacon. It is undoubtedly the case that men who intimately love other men (as was the case with the First World War poet Wilfred Owen) are often better able as artists both to celebrate (and grieve for, when lost) the more vulnerable, non-stereotypical male qualities. Their love for other men can become quite physically tangible in their work, giving it a dimension that heterosexual male artists must lack. This is very evident in the case of Keith Vaughan. 'Man and Child' (1942), a small pen, ink, crayon and watercolour depict a solidly built, somewhat Blakean man embracing a child in a way our limited 'sexist' language would call 'maternal' rather than 'paternal' Another work of this date, 'Apocalyptic Figure' shows another Blakean male — rather Glad Day-ish — physically serene in flames and smoke. Neither of these is a sentimentally idealising work, but rather both are celebrations of gentler (and, paradoxically, stronger) male virtues, and threnodies for soldiers being killed at War.

Occasionally, in second-hand bookshops, one is lucky enough to come across moth-eaten copies of *The New Penguin Writing Quarterly,* edited by John Lehmann. This brilliant journal of creative and critical writing also reproduced works by many of the finest contemporary artists, including many in this exhibition The 1946 quarterly cover illustrations— 'Spring', 'Summer', 'Autumn', 'Winter' — are now collector's items. As illustrator and draughtsman, rather than as painter of oils — Minton must rank as a major modern British artist. The 'Spring 1946' *New Writing* cover illustration shows a tree, open book, quill pen, circling bird — the essential ingredients of neo-romanticism re-vivified by vital rhythm of design and robustness of lyricism. Like Craxton, Minton was drawn towards the Shoreham Garden vision allied to a poetic representation of the desirable young male — boyishly young dreamer, a kind of *alter ego* figure 'Dark wood, Evening' (c 1945-47) (black pen, ink and wash on paper) is closely related in mood and style to Craxton's wartime drawing Moonlight glows amongst trees and vegetation and path The richly varied effects of patterning, shaping and hatching contribute towards a mysterious, nocturnal atmosphere In 'Recollections of Wales' (1944), a beautiful, half-clothed androgyne seems to grow out of the fecund landscape The brilliantly drawn flowing and blurring of organic forms express an admixture of fear and ecstasy — in a kind of a nightmare of a waking dream. In post-War works, such as the *New Writing* covers, Minton depicted pastoral or Mediterranean idylls, but his work

remained usually tough enough to make the idyll real, as opposed to escapist.

The exhibition looks at the post-War developments of these artists. For Craxton, there now existed happier possibilities: travel, sun, openness. In 1948, he felt that in Greece and the Aegean (where he settled), 'it's possible to be a real person — real people, real elements, real windows — real sun above all In a life of reality, my imagination really works. I feel like an *emigré* in London and squashed flat'. But his large, post-War paintings — sub-Picassian representations of Virgilian shepherds piping it to the goats — show just the opposite. In the new life of freedom — of real people and sun — his pictures were (or at least the ones exhibited here) *unreal.* The forms and colours become touristic almost, often kitsch. Craxton's smaller wartime drawings are infinitely more subtle, complex, touched with poetic magic. Perhaps it was only when he was living a life of unreality, midst the awful tensions of early 40s Britain, that his imagination set to work Liberation (or rather real achieved escapism) seemed to stifle his imaginative qualities (though not, it seems, a gift for personal happiness). This may be one of the strange paradoxes of the neo-Romantic Imagination.

[Philip Vann, freelance journalist, arts writer and exhibition organiser, has published articles in *The Economist, Aspects* (Arts Council Publication) and *Art and Artists*]

POEMS

CHRIST CHURCH MEADOWS

Spring in the meadows and the warm air over me,
Elms and chestnuts put forth their shoots,
Over the river come cries of footballers,
While here the blackbirds practise their flutes

A plane wings homeward from her journey
Into the eye of the setting sun,
Across the lady Montacute's Meadow
The shadows descend, and day is done.

Beyond the bounds of the gated city
Evening traffic makes a muted hum;
Under the trees the lovers are lying
This is their moment· their hour will come

THE SOUL

Beneath an earth-bank we call hedge
Two reapers rested that hot day,
In the golden stubble field
Above the blue extended bay

There they slumbered, after work
From early morn until the noon.
A grey mist rose above the sea,
Turned the air to cold; and soon

The younger of them now awoke,
Looked across at his friend's head·
A white moth fluttered from his mouth,
And then he knew that he was dead.

A. L. ROWSE

CORRESPONDENCE

THE 'OPEN DOOR' PRISON PROBLEM

Dear Madam,

I would like, if I may, to offer a reply to Andrew Rutherford's article 'The Open Door Prison Problem' in the May issue (No 1456, Vol 250)

Every responsible person is a reductionist But the distorted account and appraisal of the situation by Andrew Rutherford ought not to pass unchallenged He is principally concerned to make a political attack upon successive Conservative Home Secretaries

Serious crime is inexorably rising There is no getting away from this. Would that we could find the way to stop it It is a fact, not a political choice. Most prison space is taken up by assailants, robbers, muggers and burglars. It is difficult to see how the vast majority of such offenders can be or could be dealt with otherwise than by imprisonment Protection for the public, public feeling, retribution, deterrence, respect for the victims, and elementary justice so require.

Sentencing policy and the statutory framework is certainly for Parliament and Government. In the early 1970's and in the early 1980's a host of new non-custodial sentences was created; there are substantial legal obstacles to be overcome before the court can imprison an offender under 21; much increased resources have gone into community programmes for offenders, e.g probation, hostel provision, community service The Judicial Studies Board is developing constructive guidance on principles, and the new Criminal Justice Bill proposes to further this work

The sentencing decision in the individual case must surely rest, and continue to rest, with the judges and magistrates, under the rule of law. But judges and magistrates operate the 'last resort' principle, and try non-custodial measures whenever possible, as the law rightly requires The proportion of offenders sent to prison has been steadily falling Unfortunately the number of serious offenders has been steadily rising. The need for prison places is indeed demand-led.

Standards in prison leave a lot to be desired, and certainly minimum standards should be promulgated and enforced. But widespread abuse by prisoners, e.g damage to integral sanitation, burning and other destruction of buildings, does not make the task any easier

Rutherford complains about prison conditions, the mid-Victorian buildings In the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s and 1970s there was virtually no new prison building Yet when in the 1980s new prisons are being built, he complains, and calls for a halt To complain about replacement building is quite inconsistent How else can conditions be improved?

The remand problem is certainly serious, and more must be done to ease it For example, more bail hostel places, more expeditious trials, extended jurisdiction for magistrates, more stipendiaries, a more efficient prosecution service, abolition of committal proceedings But recent cases of further offences of the utmost gravity committed by murderers and

rapists on bail have sharply emphasised the dangers of a too liberal bail policy.

Significantly Rutherford did not mention 'privatisation', because political dogma is more important than prison reform. Low security risk prisoners could be 'farmed out', subject to safeguards and inspections, with consequent easing of the pressure in respect of the retained high security risk prisoners Electronic tagging may have possibilities too.

For Rutherford to accuse the Conservative government of encouraging custodial sentences is absurd As if the problem and the burden were not big enough already There is no open door policy. But the Rutherford policy would be disastrous. Old prisons steadily deteriorating, and no replacement. Convicted robbers turned away at the prison gate, sorry we are full, no vacancies, you must remain at large in the community.

There is so much scope for consensus improvement, for genuine reductivism, that the politicisation of the debate can only be divisive and counter productive

Yours faithfully,

Bassett, Southampton ALEC SAMUELS

Andrew Rutherford writes

Dear Madam,

Not to have a response from Alec Samuels would be like a Spring without a shower His suggestion that my analysis of the prison crisis (including a failure to refer to privatisation proposals) rests upon political dogma is unworthy of his generous nature. It is our different perceptions of the crisis which are important. Mr. Samuels sees the prison population being inexorably driven by the level of crime The facts suggest that the relationships between recorded crime, persons convicted and size of the prison population are complex and by no means predictable For example, since 1982 the total number of people sentenced for indictable offences has declined but the number receiving sentences of immediate imprisonment has risen. A crucial ingredient is the set of decisions, largely at the 'front-end' of the criminal justice process In my article I explored the consequences of an 'open door' policy by central government and identified the policy choices. No government, whatever its political complexion, would wisely conclude that such choices do not exist

Yours faithfully,

The University, Southampton ANDREW RUTHERFORD

Literary Supplement

HOW WASHINGTON WORKS

Steering the Elephant Edited by Robert Rector and Michael Sanera N Y Universe Books.

British readers may need — as Americans will not need — to appreciate that the word 'elephant' is here used not only as an analogy for government, but as the symbol of the Republican Party. To the twenty-six writers, all of them believers in the Reagan policies, government is ponderous and crushing, and the Republican Party itself well-meaning but at times slow-moving, divided and hesitant In all its partisanship, this is an insider's view, detailed, immensely well-informed, hard-hitting and quite fascinating

It replaces all text-book descriptions of American Government In this bi-centennial year of celebration, when much has been said and written (and in September more will be) extolling the Founding Fathers, it is salutary to be reminded of the realities There are, for example, now three million civilian employees of the Federal Government, only some one-tenth of one per cent of whom does any President appoint On the trail of the 535 Senators and Congressmen, each with lavish staffs, are the officials of each Department — and thousands of official and many unofficial lobbyists, newshawks and media men The writers here, all with direct experience of or on Capitol Hill, reveal how difficult it is to direct this vast machine down any road that it does not itself wish to travel In this great Leviathan, the 535 members of House and Senate are but minor cogs Nor are they a great collectivity either, but ambitious individuals working to enact, defeat or amend a wide range of legislative initiatives, few of which originate as agreed items in 'party' policy back at their scattered ranches They have got to the Hill by 535 distinct routes, from very diverse constituencies, and hardly ever are they 'pledged' to any doctrine or cause except their own career Often with lavish resources, and usually the voice of special interests, each makes up his or her mind on each issue, so that a vast number of unstable alliances have to be manufactured to secure victory on any issue

This is also a useful 'How to' book All aspiring Congressmen, lawyers, lobbyists and press men would profit from it If, from it, elections and representative government seem far removed, and almost entertainment only, Jeane Kirkpatrick, a one-time Democrat (like the President himself!), in her essay on U S representation at the U N at least stresses the importance of being in touch with and responsible to 'the people', and of being as thorough and efficient as and tougher than, the experts — who, she finds, are usually expert only in 'intra-system' communication And she makes the welcome point that under her at least the member states — especially the Africans — learnt that the 'kick me' sign was no longer hanging on the American door on 42nd Street

There are also here revealing glimpses — labelled 'case studies' — of some specially costly bits of bureaucratic nonsense And the book ends with a brilliant analysis by the general editors of the Reagan Presidency itself

In 1987 the U S is continent-wide and polyglot, far removed from the narrow belt of farming and fisher-folk, and of planters and slaves, living along

a narrow Atlantic shore, where its origins lay in 1787 The Founding Fathers would not know their country now, nor is the leviathan analysed here the government they planned for it But as a description of the realities of Capitol Hill this could hardly be bettered It is an analysis of the activities of a Federal City, that was itself non-existent in 1787, set down in swamp land, where fogs were frequent, and where there was no industry At least this book penetrates the mists, and the democratic and oratorical pieties It is a useful weapon should you visit it, work in it — or just try to read *The Washington Post*

ESMOND WRIGHT

THE PROFUMO CASE AND STEPHEN WARD

An Affair of State The Profumo Case and the Framing of Stephen Ward Philip Knightley & Caroline Kennedy Jonathan Cape £12 95

Stephen Ward was a gifted osteopath with many society connections who in 1963 was tried and convicted at the Old Bailey of living on immoral earnings Before the trial was concluded, he had committed suicide One of the young women whom he befriended was Christine Keeler whom he introduced to the War Minister John Profumo at the swimming pool of the late Lord Astor, whose name figured all too prominently in the case

This is a hard book to review Hard certainly for any long-time friend of Jack Profumo or the late Bill Astor, both of whom are presented here in a distorted light Hard, also, for anyone who like the present writer had any contact with the events here described, and there are many who had a much more intimate relationship with them than I had

I only met Stephen Ward twice, but I was sufficiently saddened by his suicide to make my way to a television studio and deliver a little piece which ended with these familiar words 'Which of us is qualified to cast the first stone?'

I mention that to demonstrate that I am sympathetic up to a point with the desire of the authors to do him more justice than he received in life But that is as far as I can go.

There is initially the question of whether such a book should have been written at all For me the answer to that question must be in the negative It is all a matter of good taste

But supposing the book had to be written, can we allot good marks to the present authors? One is repelled immediately by the sub-title. The Profumo Case That appeal to vulgar memories makes a bad impression at once The more closely one looks into the argument, one sees that there is a lot of truth in it and a lot of falsehood

The authors have worked hard and, to be fair to them, have not hesitated to quote opinions very adverse to Stephen Ward their victim hero Peter Earle retired from the *News of the World* after a fifty-year career in Fleet Street He is quoted here as referring to Ward as 'that diabolical devil and that malevolent manipulator' Readers of *The Contemporary Review* may be sceptical about the moral values of a *News of the World* journalist, but Lord Denning who interviewed Ward on three occasions for two hours each time, described him as 'utterly immoral', and as 'a really wicked chap' Peter Earle, however, admitted that he did not know of anything that Ward had done that was criminal in law, but summed up his point of view by saying. 'Ward's

crimes could never be dealt with by any earthly court' A fair-minded person may conclude that Ward's way of life was totally reprehensible, but that he was unjustly convicted But that does not mean that the aspersions cast on individuals are remotely justified

The references to Jack Profumo may or may not have some factual basis The tributes to his noble work in East London since that time are handled briefly There is considerable meanness in the final comment 'He and Valerie Hobson are still married ' No more devoted couple exists today

Bill Astor is presented in a wretched light Much is made of the fact that he failed to give evidence on behalf of Stephen Ward at the trial of the latter Bill Astor's widow, Bronwen Astor, has already contradicted this in *The Times* recently From the authors' conversations with her, they should have known that it was untrue and being corrected should at least have had the grace to apologise I can confirm the fact myself I had lunch with Bill Astor during the trial and asked him whether he was going to give evidence He assured me that he had offered to do so, but Ward's legal advisers had refused the offer

The authors say that Bill Astor died friendless One old friend of his at least is well aware that this is untrue, though undoubtedly London society turned against him His memorial service was very well attended, not only by his friends but by representatives of the many charitable organisations he had supported He had found religious peace by the end.

The case for Stephen Ward could have been presented without such gross unfairness to others involved in the tragic story

FRANK LONGFORD

THE RED DEAN OF CANTERBURY

The Red Dean Robert Hughes Churchman Publishing £17 95

At the end of the Thirties it was said that three men could fill any hall in England and Wales Two were Churchill and Archbishop Temple The third was Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, the subject of this biography In his time he infuriated many and mesmerized some, both in this country and in America The book is packed with memories from personal interviews, impressions and anecdotes Many of the latter are wryly amusing One that stands out is the description of an Evensong in the Cathedral when Archbishop Fisher in procession with the Canon in residence coincided with the Dean in company with Malenkov The correspondence which followed is instructive about the characters of those principally involved

Apart from his wider image as friend of Russia and China, as administrator and as pastor especially among the less grand associated with the Cathedral, Hewlett Johnson was admirable There is evidence too of his kindness to many who were hostile to him Robert Hughes describes him as a 'fellow traveller', using the term in a neutral sense as one who expresses sympathy with communism but without being traitorous In his written works Hewlett Johnson did not deal with the philosophy of Marxism, but judged it by what he considered to be the results His background was that of well to do North Country industrialism in which each man was thought to be responsible to his own situation His mother, though unconventional, was a great influence with her brand of Evangelical Christianity This, however, was to be shaken by his study of geology, and a conception of the protestant work ethic was challenged by

the slums near his home 'The elimination of a profit motive makes room for the higher notion of service' In time he came to the conclusion that communism was 'the only possible creed to those who call themselves Christians' He then considered it his mission to explain Russia and China to the West

Robert Hughes asks this question Was he a gullible fool or the first architect of a bridge between the two worlds? Certainly Russia had an imperialist tradition and the nature of communism is to be missionary in a way that showed little sympathy with opposition Though he was not always blind to the errors of the Russian leadership, he was either ignorant of or glossed over the crimes of the Stalinist regime which are now generally admitted When Hitler invaded Russia there was much sympathy for its people and their leaders It was at this time that he developed a friendship with General Montgomery When the Cold War began, and especially during the Korean War, he became suspect Efforts were made to remove him from Canterbury, but not all the Establishment were to be against him The author quotes these words of the Duke of Bedford — 'The Dean's first loyalty is to God and to what he believes to be the truth as told in the Service of Christ in the ministry of reconciliation His duty to the State, and even his duty to the Church of England, is merely a secondary matter'

It seems that Hewlett Johnson could not comprehend hatred We are given a moving account of his family life His first wife died of cancer At sixty-three he was to marry again and become the father of two children His stamina and courage are made clear, especially in his travels and during the Spanish Civil War and the bombing of Canterbury This is a very readable biography Not only does it give a portrait of a man who was the most controversial of this century, but also a picture of the cross currents of political thought from Victorian times to his death in 1963 at the age of 92 The author insists that criticism is necessary to a healthy society and quotes Mervyn Stockwood's words in a television interview, 'he made people think, he's a gadfly, a hornet'

LAURENCE TANNER

A MANY SIDED POET

Collected Poems A J McGeoch Wilfion Books £9 95

The gifted Scottish poet, Andrew Jackson McGeoch, has published his *Collected Poems* in which are contained all the poems from his four previous volumes by which he wishes in future to be remembered. It is the celebration of a long life in which poetry and literary pursuits have formed the greatest, though not exclusive, part A true scholar-poet, Mr McGeoch reveals close observation of the natural world and deep understanding of human nature.

One of his most evident characteristics is a sympathy for animals that is entirely without sentimentality though full of sensibility. Equally, his portraits of people are honest and ironic, his observations concise and clear The poems are varied as much in verse form as in style and setting There are reflections on man's animal nature and the impenetrability of the cosmos beside descriptions of familiar mountain, wood and stream and many unexpected glimpses of small, wild creatures

One poem especially, called *Blight,* is memorable for combining in less than forty lines exquisite brief descriptions of birds with telling expressions of reproach and bitterness directed at the despoilers of field and wood and the grimly apparent destruction of benign little creatures in their habitat The poet ironically involves the reader in unwitting complicity with the predators, and yet in no way engages in a diatribe It contains the most moving and the neatest possible reminder I have read that 'There is no end to Stupidity Street' All active workers for the preservation of the countryside would do well to pay close attention to the nature poems of Andrew McGeoch for he expresses pithily and movingly many things that need to be said

Landscapes are another of his particular loves, especially those of his native Scotland as well as scenes in Sicily, France and South Africa Curious about all the possibilities of travel in space, he frequently speculates on the newly revealed aspects of the moon, not in forboding but with the admiration he feels for all other discoverers of hitherto undisclosed places Like his nature poems, these verses are quiet, deeply felt and disciplined Mr McGeoch experiences and can express in readable, elegant and often humorous verse moments of insight into the workings of the universe in a way that makes his volume a welcome addition to anyone's bookshelf.

BETTY ABEL

JOE ORTON'S LAST DIARY

The Orton Diaries Edited by John Lahr Methuen £12 50

It is still too early to assess accurately the position Joe Orton will ultimately hold in the hierarchy of English dramatists Pre-eminent in the 1960s as a black farceur, there is something of a reaction nowadays His plots seem thinner than they once did, and whilst the dialogue still crackles with one liners, this, of itself, may not be sufficient for a very high plinth

John Lahr has painstakingly annotated Orton's diary kept over the last months of his life, before his long time but increasingly disorientated lover Kenneth Halliwell battered him to death with a hammer before committing suicide Lahr has already mined the Orton lode before with the anagramatically titled *Prick up your Ears,* a biography of this minor playwright

Has this latest foray been worth it? It is an interesting study in seeing what Orton read, his taste in literature was catholic, and how he wrote Not as disciplined as some It is also, pre-eminently, a study of a part of the homosexual life in those happy pre-AIDS days Some of the stories have appeared in the autobiography, but here in Orton's own words are the stories of saturnalia in the Holloway Road and a dwarf in Brighton One wonders whether some of them have been embroidered to torment Halliwell, an assiduous reader of the diary. The diary is also an interesting if minor study of two communities. The fringes of the entertainment world, and the flats where Orton lived

Lahr has annotated simply everything This is very interesting when he details the lives of the neighbours Mildly interesting when he lists the plays in which some minor actress has appeared, and quite infuriating and indeed insulting when he tells us who Laurel and Hardy were, or that Dickens was an English novelist There can only be two possible explanations The first is that

he anticipates this book will be preserved in a time capsule which will survive until a post nuclear age, or that it is to be a set book in the most illiterate of the Southern American universities When Orton exclaims 'Jesus Christ' I rather looked for the footnote (Jesus Christ [0-33AD] Religious Leader)

JAMES MORTON

THE CHOSEN PEOPLE

A History of the Jews Paul Johnson Weidenfeld & Nicolson £16 95

When Menachem Begin led his Palestinian guerrillas, the Irgun, in his brutal campaign against the British occupying power in 1945 onwards, he was doing in fact what Abraham's tribes had done four millenia before, and Moses later dispossessing the settlers already there in a too-often-promised land, and defending the seizure by citing Divine (or in 1948 U N) sanction In Begin's case, the method was less open war than terrorism, the twentieth century's own special addition to the lexicon of conflict — though Begin himself never accepted the label 'terrorist' Whenever the Jews were taken into captivity, or had their Temple destroyed, or simply went into exile, their history posited an ultimate return to a Zion that they had conquered in the first place

It is not merely their history, or their sense of being a chosen people, that Johnson brilliantly captures The variety and the extent of the Diaspora is also well portrayed, and the ability of the Jewish communities in it to remain distinct, in Poland and Spain, Odessa and Vienna, Amsterdam and Cairo, Hollywood and New York As a result, they seemed and were all things to all men peddlers and parasites, ultra-rationalists and Kabbalists, fiddlers on the roof and on the ground, philosophers, pawn-brokers, playwrights, performers — and polyglots Their scattering across a universe facilitated movement of goods and news, but in the nineteenth century it also encouraged the movement of cash, in the form of paper bonds, and of news services, so the Rothschilds and the Reuters became instruments not only of capitalism but of international communication For Jews, more than for any other people, the device of money as paper gave them a new security

Paul Johnson stresses other themes the constant Jewish respect for learning and for scholarship — which makes the horrors of the Nazi persecution so bizarre a chapter in the history of a Germany that, better-educated at that time than any other nation, had shown great sympathy for and given warm welcome to Jews, the role throughout Jewish history of the prophet and the rabbi; the constant thread of ethical monotheism, and of rationalism and realism, the absence of dogma in their religion, compared to the immense convolutions and contentiousness of Christianity once it accepted the idea of the Trinity of the Godhead, and, not least, the resignation under endless provocations and the sheer capacity to survive, despite a more persistent and recurrent persecution than that suffered by any other people They are 'the most tenacious people in history '

Although the story of the holocaust has been repeatedly told, it has rarely been told with such chilling horror 1,600 death camps, 900 labour camps, six million dead — the horror conveyed here by the mere narrative of fact piling on fact Johnson is persuasive in contending that most Germans could not but

know what was happening, the Austrians, he believes, were even more culpable, the Italians strikingly less so And the US, usually generous in admitting refugees whatever the quotas might say, was all but indifferent in 1943 and 1944 The news of the holocaust was under-reported there, and 'There was more anti-semitism during the war than at any time in American history' It was a piece of almost pure luck that a place of refuge, Zion, came at last to its difficult birth in time to receive a handful of those who survived It was born in blood, Jewish, Gentile and Arab, and survival bred ugly qualities as when Begin said, after the deliberate massacre of 250 Arabs in the peaceful village of Deir Yassin, 'God, thou hast chosen us for conquest' Perhaps Joshua would have understood?

Apart from the drama of the story, the book is to be welcomed not least for its pen-portraits Some are drawn with affection and admiration Joshua, Isaiah, Maimonides, Spinoza, Moses, Mendelssohn, the first Rothschild, Disraeli, Weizmann For others the etchings are drawn with acid, notably Marx, or with very detached respect, like Freud and Begin. This is vivid, readable and yet thoroughly scholarly history, a work of outstanding quality

ESMOND WRIGHT

SHORTER REVIEWS

The Greening of Africa (Paladin Grafton Books Collins £4 95) Paul Harrison, with his wide experience of conditions in Africa, was invited to write this study by Brian Walker, President of the International Institute for Environment and Development It describes the success stories in African development contrasted with the overall crises in food, poverty, financial aid and environmental destruction The latter, Mr. Harrison argues, 'threatens not just the hope of progress, but even the hope of survival' Against this bleak picture, on a comparative small scale in the vast size of Africa, he has identified success stories, having 'visited sixteen projects and four major international research centres' He cites, for example, Kenya's 'outstanding programme' in soil conservation, and Zimbabwe's dramatic rise in agricultural production, especially in maize, among black farmers in the last five years There is also the extensive irrigation programme in Northern Nigeria These are some examples of what can be done to make Africa economically prosperous and self-sufficient Mr Harrison concludes Africa must not and need not wait on budgetary and balance of payments reforms 'There is much that can be done using low-cost, low-import, self-help approaches, supplemented by judicious aid'

Therése of Lisieux (Virago Press £3 95) This is a valuable new study of St Theresa, born in 1873, died of pneumonia in 1897 and canonised in 1925 Monica Furlong writes at once with detachment and feeling, about the character and religious yearnings of this greatly loved Saint Brought up in a strict Roman Catholic family, she was 'self-confessedly ambitious' but as a woman denied the opportunities given to a man, which she wanted In particular she longed to be a priest Instead of fighting for them, they became deliberately the basis of her humility and love 'Instead of leading the rich life her body and brains might have enjoyed,

she took the scrap of life allowed to her and transformed it' Monica Furlong disagrees with biographers and others who regarded her as especially gentle or obedient This behaviour was rather part of her struggle to make sense of her life 'This is an account of the struggle and the price'

The Beats (Dent, Everyman Paperbacks £4 95) Edited by Professor Park Honan, this is a carefully representative anthology of the young radical, idealistic, and shockingly iconoclastic writers of the American movement of the 1950s Professor Honan, who not only knew many of the 'Beats' personally, went to their poetry readings and followed their meteor risings and falls, believes that their best work is of permanent importance He presents his reasons for reaching that conclusion in an illuminating analytical Introduction Another interesting feature of the volume is its helpful collection of biographical notes Useful, too, is the bibliography of suggested further reading (R W-E)

The Desert Fathers (Constable £6 95) This welcome paperback edition is the seventh reprint since Helen Waddell's classic work was first published in 1936 Her translations from the Latin are drawn from Roswyde's *Vitae Patrum,* first published in 1615, containing translations from the Greek originals written in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries about the lives and sayings of the Desert Fathers in Egypt Their asceticism and self denial incurred the strident, but unfair, invective of Gibbon Helen Waddell's book contains a fragment only of the 'vast original which runs in the 1628 original to more than a thousand pages in double column' It is a representative study of great value, with an Introduction and prefaces She emphasises, however, that her book's 'business is only with translation' and not a study of the Desert Fathers or 'the authenticity of the sources' Nonetheless it is an acknowledged work of great value and importance

The Wandering Scholars (Constable £7 95) Helen Waddell's celebrated study of the medieval Vagantes was first published in 1927 A sixth revised and enlarged edition in 1932 was followed by the revised seventh edition in 1934 It is this last edition after twelve reprints that is published as a welcome paperback In her Preface, Helen Waddell points out that her study, important as it is, has a limited purpose She is not concerned with the impact of the Vagantes upon the medieval church, or of their place in literature 'They have been studied only as the inheritors of the pagan learning, the classic tradition that came to its wild flowering in the rhyming Latin lyric of the twelth and thirteenth centuries.'

Clive of India (Constable. £7 95) This is a paperback edition of Mark Bence-Jones' biography of Clive, first published in 1974 It is a substantial work, well researched, vividly written and illustrated It takes its place among the studies of British Indian history, and a cheap edition should be warmly welcomed

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'LAW AND ORDER' IN PERSPECTIVE

Philip Norton

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R. D. Kernohan

THE PRACTICE OF REALPOLITIK: SRI LANKA'S ETHNIC STRIFE

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'LAW AND ORDER' IN PERSPECTIVE

by Philip Norton

DURING the recent general election campaign, opinion polls were regularly carried out in order to determine how electors intended to vote Less attention was given to why they intended to vote in a particular way Even so, it was apparent that one salient issue — perceived as such by both politicians and electors — was that of 'law and order' Each party claimed that it was best able to deal with the problem. The Labour Party, in its manifesto, declared that the Government had 'broken its promises on law and order'. Under the rubric of 'law and order', Conservative publications defended the Government's record. 'We have upheld the rule of law and backed those who enforce it'.[1] 'Fighting Crime' was given a prominent place in the Alliance manifesto

The stance taken by the parties was hardly surprising 'Law and Order' has been an issue regularly on the agenda of political debate in this country It has been variously debated in the House of Commons It has been frequently utilised by politicians Indeed, as a salient issue, it is one that helped contribute to the return of the Conservative Government in 1979.[2] As Mrs Thatcher analysed the position at the time. 'The demand in the country will be for two things. less tax and more law and order'.[3] Survey data suggest that it is an issue which, in voters' perceptions, has tended to favour the Conservative Party. Recent years have witnessed an attempt by other parties to counter the Conservative advantage, portraying themselves as parties better equipped to deal with the nation's rising crime rate and outbreaks of public disorder There is some survey evidence that Labour in 1987 managed to improve its standing on the issue.[4]

Nor is the debate confined now to politicians Increasingly, social scientists of one hue or another — criminologists, sociologists, political scientists — are entering the debate [5] Radical scholars have been to the fore and recent contributions have included Ian Taylor's *Law and Order: Arguments for Socialism* (1982), David Downes' Fabian pamphlet, *Law and Order Theft of an Issue* (1983) and John Lee and Jock Young's *What is to be Done about Law and Order?* (1984)

Not surprisingly, given this development, claims are made by Conservative politicians and Socialist scholars that the debate increasingly is becoming an adversarial one One thing, though, on which they are agreed, and which is central to the discussion, is that there is a 'problem' of law and order That is a proposition that would attract widespread if

not total agreement It is obviously the basis of the present debate.

The purpose of this article is not to discuss the problem of law and order, but rather to call attention to a prior problem — that of the study of law and order. The present debate is confused because of a failure, first to define the very term that forms the basis of that debate and, second, to put the problem — particularly that of public disorder — in historical perspective

The term 'law and order' is frequently employed, both in political debate and, as the titles already cited illustrate, in academic circles as well. The Home Office, for example, has what Home Secretaries describe as a 'law and order budget', earlier this year Douglas Hurd recorded that the Thatcher administration had increased that budget by over forty per cent [6] Many authors discuss crime under the rubric of 'law and order'. That is a characteristic of the works already mentioned and is characteristic also of debates on the subject in the House of Commons, on party platforms and in books and pamphlets from those with some responsibility for the formulation and application of public policy, principally politicians and former police officers such as John Alderson All have some idea of what is encompassed by 'law and order'. Yet not one of the sources I have referred to clearly defines the term David Downes comes closest. He refers to law and order 'in the narrow sense of a preoccupation with rates of crime',[7] but fails to define what it means in its broader sense.

Nor are law texts much help Criminal lawyers appear to regard the subject as one appropriate to constitutional law, constitutional lawyers regard it as more appropriate to criminal law Among the legal works I have consulted, not one has enlightened me as to what law and order, as a concept, means In my search for a definition, I had recourse to Walsh and Poole's *A Dictionary of Criminology* (1983) It provides a concise guide to terms as diverse as bestiality, forensic psychiatry and unemployment, but on the concept of law and order it is silent Crime is included. So too is public order But nothing on the concept under which both may be subsumed On 'crime', it suggests that 'there is no word in the whole lexicon of legal and criminological terms which is so elusive of definition' [8] Strictly speaking, given that the reference is to a particular word, that may be correct, but in terms of concepts I would suggest that law and order is more deserving of such a description

On the part of those who write on the subject of law and order, there appears to be a common assumption that the term encompasses the problems of crime and public disorder If that was all that the term encompassed then there would be little problem of definition But there is more to it, much more There are inherent problems in delineating what the concept entails The term means, or at least implies, different things to different people

Let us begin by de-coupling the two components, 'law' and 'order'. What is meant by 'law'? In strict terms, it may be defined as constituting formally prescribed rules having applicability to all within the confines of the state under whose aegis they are promulgated In Britain, the

picture is somewhat muddied (though in this it is hardly unique) by the various forms of law — statute law, common law, delegated legislation and European Communities law, as well as the distinction between civil and criminal law. But if we take law in its broadest sense as encompassing all such commonly-applicable rules, is it not then possible to assert that the problem of law, implied in the term law and order, is one of the transgression of those rules, that is law-breaking? That is the sense in which it tends to be discussed in the works already mentioned.

However, there are at least four separate ways in which the word tends to be used, taking us beyond that simply of law-breaking The usages are not necessarily compatible First, there are those individuals, notably on the right, who use the term to mean tougher sentencing and policing, when Conservatives demand 'more law and order' that is the sense in which they are using the term — and was clearly the sense in which Mrs. Thatcher was using the term in 1979. Second, there are those, of a more liberal bent, who tend to use the word as referring to procedural equality — 'equality before the law' — encompassing procedural rights that would not necessarily be conceded by those who use the word in the first sense. Third, there are those who use it to mean the blanket application of the law, with the prosecution of anyone who commits an offence, allowing of little or no discretion to the police or prosecuting authorities And, fourth, there are those who use it to mean the application of the law by the courts and the police free of political interference The term 'rule of law' is variously employed by those who adhere to these definitions, Conservatives using it especially to apply to the fourth one (as for example in its *1987 Campaign Guide*), but it is a term subject to similar definitional problems as law and order and does not help us clarify the concept or the contemporary debate.

And what is meant by the use of the word 'order' in law and order? It permits of two usages. First, there is the narrow one of 'public order', which is the sense in which it is probably most often used And, second, there is the broader sense in which it is employed, that of 'social order'— the sense in which it is used by John Alderson in *Law and Disorder* — and which brings in discussion of agencies of social control extending beyond the courts and the police to encompass the family, religion and education If used in this broader sense, then it puts law and order within an even wider political context than it currently occupies, becoming a subject relevant to several Government Departments rather than the primary preserve of Ministers housed in Queen Anne's Gate

And coming back to the two elements of the term, why are 'law' and 'order' conjoined? Law is an artificial creation. 'Order', in whichever sense it is employed, refers to a state of being They are not synonymous terms Indeed, they are not necessarily good bedfellows at all If order is defined in the narrow sense of public order, why is it conjoined with, rather than subsumed under, law? Public disorder is normally proscribed by law and hence may be taken as part of the problem of law breaking. If order is defined in the wider sense of social order, should not law be subsumed

under order? And if law is used in the sense of a rigid application of the letter of the law, and order defined as public order, is there not a potential for conflict? Was it not an attempt to apply the letter of the law in Brixton in 1981 that sparked public disorder? Likewise in various other inner-city areas since? Should the maintenance of order, of the Queen's Peace, take precedence over the blanket or rigid application of generally-applicable rules? Views clearly differ John Alderson gives precedence to the maintenance of the Queen's Peace P A J Waddington prefers the strict application of the law. 'It would', declares Waddington, 'be contrary to the rule of law, and to the long-term detriment of the police themselves, if they were to adopt a policy of tolerating greater lawlessness in some areas than in others.'[9]

Clearly then, and this is my basic point, there is little discussion of, and no agreement on, the concept of law and order The question then arises does the absence of discussion and agreement matter? I believe it does The position is analagous to that concerning discussion of the British Constitution, to which I have drawn attention elsewhere [10] We have little familiarity with discussing the Constitution in broad conceptual terms. Increasingly, we are aware that there are constitutional problems But the debate that they prompt is confined to the specifics We are not used to standing back, to looking at those problems within the context of the Constitution *qua* Constitution Hence we lack a broad conceptual framework and until that framework is generated constitutional change will continue to be confused and piecemeal

Likewise with law and order We are not used to discussing the topic in broad conceptual terms We concentrate on the specifics — on the problem of crime rates, on the various outbreaks of disorder in different parts of the country All important issues But issues viewed from a narrow perspective Until we stand back and look at these issues in a wider framework, until we are clear what we mean by law and order, then the contemporary debate is likely to remain confused with disparate changes proposed and attempted And until we can reach agreement on what we mean by law and order — and the consequent, coherent implications for public policy — then the courts and the police are going to have to continue operating in a confused manner, unclear as to what society expects of them Discussion of the term has more than academic significance

Having made a plea for a more coherent intellectual perspective, let me now make a plea for a more incisive historical perspective. This analysis I shall confine to the more observable, and hence comparable, problem of public disorder My starting point is the general and, I surmise, popular observation that there is a problem of order, or rather disorder, and that this is a far more serious problem today than was the case twenty or thirty years ago My argument is that this perception is a narrow one and that if the problem is to be fully appreciated, and discussed in some depth, it has to be put in a wider historical context

My argument can be put within the wider thesis I have advanced else-

where about the political culture in Britain [11] In the analysis of political values and attitudes in this country, as well as of political behaviour, there is a tendency to take the position in the period from 1970 onwards and to compare it with the period from 1945 to 1970, *taking the period from 1945 to 1970 as constituting the norm* Any change in the years since 1970 is taken as a change, a deviation, from the norm. A comparison of the two periods has led a number of writers to paint a depressing picture According to Samuel Beer in *Britain Against Itself* (1982) we have witnessed a decline in the civic culture Focussing on order, people are now — according to the survey data of Barnes, Kaase and others — more willing than they were in 'the mid 1960s' to indulge in direct action such as boycotts, demonstrations and strikes According to a general review by Bill Tupman, 'the picture by the 1980s had thus become increasingly violent by any measure, be it the number of dead, the number injured, the number arrested or the amount of property damaged', developing, he contends, into a major crisis of legitimacy for both government and the political system itself [12]

My contention is that such analyses focus on an undulation within a broader historical trend, ignoring the trend itself — one which is towards greater, not less, order in society There may be greater disorder now than in the period between 1945 and 1970, but in historical perspective it is that period (1945-70) that is atypical What is surprising today is not the extent to which we differ from the 1950s and 1960s, but rather the fact that the change has not been on a greater scale

There is a tendency to view British history through rose-tinted spectacles We have been socialised into perceiving a society marked by continuity and stability 'What makes the history of England so eminently valuable', wrote T H Buckle, 'is that nowhere else has the national progress been so little interfered with, either for good or evil' [13] In practice, the country has been rent by numerous upheavals, some of a quite violent nature The Civil War was far from bloodless The opinion of foreigners, wrote an English scholar in 1704, is 'that there have been more shakes and convulsions in the government of England than in that of any other nation' [14] In the eighteenth century, according to Brewer and Styles, there were considerable divergences about what the rule of law entailed [15] Rioting was common, though not necessarily directed against the social order It remained common in the nineteenth century and with the introduction of a police force there were serious riots directed against the police, seen by many in the working class as a political rather than a protective force Anti-police riots were especially serious in northern towns in and around the 1840s, especially but not exclusively in Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire 'Anti-police violence', as Storch has recorded, 'did not disappear after the 1850s; it assumed a more restricted shape and became (like prostitution) a typical component of the undercurrents of everyday Victorian life' [16] There were riots in the latter half of the century, including in London, and they were far from infrequent in the first decades of this century

On various occasions before and after the First World War, troops were called out to assist the police During a railway and dock strike in 1911, Home Secretary Winston Churchill sent a gunboat up the River Mersey He despatched troops to guard Manchester railway stations. According to one newspaper, he sent troops 'hither and thither as though Armageddon was upon us' [17] Following demobilisation after the Great War, serious rioting occurred throughout the country In 1919, there were race riots in South Wales, the East End of London and Liverpool, when whites attacked blacks In Cardiff, three people were shot dead In July the Peace Day celebrations were attended by riots in various towns, including Salisbury, Wolverhampton, Luton, Coventry, Swindon and (of all places) Epsom In August the police in Liverpool went on strike, and severe rioting and looting ensued Troops and tanks had to be sent in There were bayonet charges and shooting Around the same time there were riots and battles between police and youths in various parts of the capital, including Tottenham, Brixton, Barking, Hammersmith, Edmonton and Greenwich [18] There was rioting on various occasions in the 1920s and 1930s In 1931, thousands of unemployed demonstrators fought with police in Glasgow Violent clashes took place in Birkenhead For fifty years until 1936, constables on night duty in London suburbs had been permitted to carry service revolvers, prior to that time, cutlasses had been issued

Nor should it be assumed that the period of the 1950s and 1960s was problem free, encompassing as it did race riots in Nottingham and London in 1958, clashes between mods and rockers in the early 1960s and student unrest in the late 1960s The popular perception of a settled polity and of consensual or community policing, as portrayed in *Dixon of Dock Green,* was a comforting but not quite accurate one Indeed, on the basis of the forceful analysis advanced by Waddington, it is doubtful if we have ever witnessed community policing in this country.[19]

The essential point I am advancing is that the various outbreaks of disorder in recent years need to be seen in perspective They have been serious and one should not downplay that fact. What we should not lose sight of is that they are by no means unique either. Public disorder has been a characteristic of British history What is noteworthy is the fact that in the decades since the Second World War we have been a far more orderly nation than was the case before Far from a breakdown of consensus, I have argued elsewhere that what we have realised in recent decades has been a strengthening of the political culture The various components of that culture — the orientation toward problem solving, toward the political system, toward co-operation and individuality, and toward other people — have converged and developed a momentum, the more so as government has delivered the goods expected of it, imparting a degree of consensus which has helped provide protection against an even greater incidence of disorder than has been witnessed recently [20] There may, on the face of it, be less consensus nowadays, and a greater willingness to engage in direct action, than existed in the 1950s and 1960s,

but the change is relative The *underlying* trend is one of a more orderly, if anything a more consensual society Indeed, what is remarkable about the figures presented by Barnes and Kaase is not the small increase in the number of people willing to engage in boycotts, demonstrations and strikes, but the number who would never indulge in direct action, including action — such as signing petitions — that is quite lawful Forty-two per cent of respondents said they would 'never' take part in lawful demonstrations [21]

The analysis I have advanced does not help explain the riots of recent years — and it is imperative that causes and solutions be identified — but it does help put them in perspective and it directs our attention to broader, previously ignored questions, most notable among them being: why has there not been a greater breakdown of order than we have witnessed? (After all, given current social and economic pressures, should one not have anticipated more widespread disorder?). If my thesis is valid, that the answer is to be found in the political culture, then it is important also in helping us understand the extent to which we may have a breathing space in which to address the problems that do face us And, if what we have witnessed in recent years has a precedent, then studying that precedent may help us better understand and combat those problems.

I began by referring to the current debate on law and order It is a debate which, in terms of the participants, is broad and, in terms of feelings on the issue, deep It has been going on for many years and shows every sign of continuing for many more. My purpose in this article has not been to contribute to the substance of that debate but rather to make a plea affecting the nature of it If we are to discuss law and order, let us at least be clear what it is we are debating and let us put it in perspective In short, let us have a more informed debate

(The above article constitutes a revised version of a paper delivered to the British Society of Criminology in London, May 1987)

NOTES

1. Conservative Central Office, *Our First Eight Years* (London Conservative Central Office, 1987), p 17
2 I Crewe, 'Why the Conservatives Won', in H Penniman (ed), *Britain at the Polls* (Washington DC American Enterprise Institute, 1981), p 284
3 Quoted in S P Savage, 'Fighting the Enemy Within Law and Order under the Tories', in L Robins (ed), *Political Institutions in Britain* (London Longman, 1987), p 230
4 *Sunday Times*, 31 May 1987, p 13, reporting the results of a MORI poll
5 An example of this mix is to be found in the volume which I edited — *Law and Order and British Politics* (Aldershot Gower, 1984) — with contributions from lawyers, criminologists, political scientists and sociologists
6 D Hurd, 'The Home Office Today', *House Magazine*, vol 12, 367, 20 February 1987, p 14
7 D Downes, *Law and Order Theft of an Issue*, Fabian Tract 490 (London Fabian Society, 1983), p 31
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9 P A J Waddington, '"Community Policing" A Sceptical Appraisal', in Norton (ed), *Law and Order and British Politics*, p 95
10 P Norton, *The Constitution in Flux* (Oxford. Basil Blackwell, 1982)
11 P Norton, *The British Polity* (New York Longman, 1984), chapter 15
12 B. Tupman, 'Violence and the British Political System', in L Robins (ed),

Topics in British Politics 2 (London Political Education Press, 1987), p 146
13 T H Buckle, quoted in K Thomas, 'The United Kingdom', in R Grew (ed), *Crises of Political Development in Europe and the United States* (Princeton NJ Princeton University Press, 1978), p 44
14 Quoted in ibid pp 45-46
15 J Brewer and J Styles (eds), *An Ungovernable People* (London Hutchinson, 1980), pp 12-20
16. R D Storch, 'The Plague of the Blue Locusts', *International Review of Social History,* reproduced in M Fitzgerald et al, *Crime and Society* (London Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), p 107
17 Quoted by S Reynolds, book review, *Punch,* 13 July 1983, p 60
18 S Field and P Southgate, *Public Disorder,* Home Office Research Study No 72 (London Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1982), pp 4-5
19 Waddington, loc cit
20. Norton, *The British Polity,* ch 15
21 See the data reproduced in D Sanders and E Tanenbaum, 'Direct Action and Political Culture The Changing Political Consciousness of the British Public', *European Journal of Political Research,* vol 11, 1983, p 47.

[Philip Norton is Professor of Government at the University of Hull. He has written or edited ten books, including *The Constitution in Flux, The British Polity, The Commons in Perspective, Conservative Dissidents,* and *Law and Order and British Politics*]

The October issue of *Contemporary Review* includes *At the Workers' Mass* by Jonathan Luxmoore, *The Military Coup in Fiji* by Keith D Suter, *Arab Contributions to Rural Life in Spain* by Habeeb Salloum and *Positive Disengagement* by Anthony Wigram

ISRAEL: A DEMOGRAPHIC DILEMMA

by H. J. Skutel

THERE is increasing concern in Israel and among its supporters abroad that, within a few decades, Israel's Jewish population will be reduced to a powerless minority within its own Promised Land, that, in effect, Arab fertility will peaceably achieve what terrorist attacks and Arab armies have failed to do, i e destroy Israel as an exclusive preserve of world Jewry Realising this Israel, it is thought, may resort to repressive, even totalitarian measures reminiscent of the behaviour of the Jewish people's own persecutors of the past.

Demographers contend that while the Israeli Arab birthrate has overall been declining in recent years, it is nevertheless growing by 2 7 per cent annually as compared to 1 6 per cent for the Jews Hence, the ratio of Arabs in the Israeli population is expected to increase from its current 17 6 per cent to around 20 per cent by the year 2000 The population today is roughly 4 3 million, 82 3 per cent of which is Jewish Moreover, the 1 3 million Arabs in the occupied territories (Gaza and West Bank) will, by that time, reach 2 million — an expansion due, in part, to medical and sanitary improvements introduced by the occupiers themselves. And this figure may yet be augmented by untold thousands of unemployed Palestinians returning from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states as a consequence of the 'oil glut' Reviewing the data, Gad Yaacobi, Israel's Minister for Economic Planning, foresees the 'non-Jewish' population of Israel and the territories as comprising 43 per cent of the total by the turn of the century.

Where the territories are concerned, it requires no stretch of the imagination to appreciate the formidable, possibly insuperable, security problems which will be posed by future juxtaposition in these areas (including Jerusalem) of several hundred thousand Jews, many of a fanatical bent, and vastly greater numbers of restive, highly politicised Arabs Pessimists point to the findings of an August 1986 opinion poll, carried out in the territories, as an indication of what may lie ahead The survey, sponsored by the East Jerusalem Arab weekly *al-Fajr*, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and the US publication *Newsday* found that, of the more than 1,000 Arabs interviewed, most with a higher education than the general Palestinian public, 60 7 per cent said 'armed struggle' was the most effective way to solve the Palestinian problem Again 78 per cent believed a permanent solution lay in the creation of a Palestinian state in *all* of Palestine — meaning Israel, Gaza and the West Bank

Despite repeated protestations that Israel is a democratic country where, according to its 1948 Procalmation of Independence all citizens are entitled to 'full social and political equality'. Arabs, in fact, are regarded as a tolerated obstacle to the realisation of a predominantly Jewish state 'I want a Jewish state with a decisive Jewish majority which

cannot change overnight', future prime minister Golda Meir declared in 1948 Hence, while Israel's 750,000 Arabs freely vote in elections just as their Jewish fellow citizens, they are subject to a multitude of discriminatory practices which, in the absence of a legally binding Charter of Rights have, for all intents and purposes, relegated them to the status of second class citizens

For example, by being excluded for the most part from military service, they are deprived of certain National Insurance benefits, government-backed mortgages, scholarships and the discharge papers demanded by many prospective Jewish employers The Arab education sector and Arab municipalities are persistently underfunded and Arab workers in Jewish enterprises are often the first to be laid off. Arabs who have sought to escape the 'handicap' of their Arabic names and change them to Hebrew ones (as Jewish immigrants from the West are encouraged to do), have been refused permission Indeed, Israeli politicians readily acknowledge — beyond earshot of the Western media — that Jews enjoy preferential treatment in Israel's ostensibly egalitarian society Interviewed by the Israeli press in December, Moshe Arens, Minister-without-portfolio for Arab Affairs, stated that the country had 'a long way to go to provide the (Arabs) with feelings of equality, identification, loyalty and partnership'.

Seen in this context, it becomes understandable that Zionist leaders regard any accelerated growth of the Israeli Arab population with anxiety. And not necessarily out of fear of some sanguinary uprising wherein the outnumbered Jews would be set upon by their long-suffering 'compatriots'. More probable is that at some indeterminate point in the future a strengthened Arab minority will make common cause with a minority of progressive, 'humanistic' Jews, and together succeed in nullifying, democratically, certain legislative and bureaucratic instruments of Jewish supremacy In this manner, warn the Jewish hardliners, the first steps would be taken to transform 'Palestine' into the democratic, secular state long dreamed of by Yasser Arafat And of course annexing the territories would vastly accelerate this process, by means peaceful or otherwise

Thus, it is a cheerless prospect which confronts the Israelis when they consider the wherewithal to counter this prophesied plague of numbers To begin with there seems little expectation that the Arab birth rate can be offset by either increased births among Jewish women or, ideally, a flood of new immigrants Large numbers of Jewish men and women in their twenties and thirties, the age of their greatest fertility in Israel, remain unmarried Even Sephardic or Oriental Jewish couples, traditionally among the most fruitful, are now having fewer children. There are around 25,000 abortions annually, mostly among Israel's majority of secular Jews Twenty-two per cent of the Jewish population (3 4 million) is aged fifty and over Nevertheless, Deputy Prime Minister Shimon Peres has exhorted every Jewish couple to have 'at least four children'

Particularly galling to Israeli leaders is the failure of Zionism to 'ingather' in the 'national home' more than 25 per cent of the world's

thirteen million Jews (This situation has given rise to the sardonic definition of a Zionist as 'someone who gives money to a second Jew, who gives it to a third, to send a fourth to Israel') Indeed, since 1948, at least 330,000 Jews (63 per cent native born) have left the country Among these were 402 'government officials' who subsequently became US citizens. Government figures released in December indicate that 19 per cent of Israeli Jews in the 18-29 age group are likely to emigrate The lowest point in *aliya* (immigration) since 1953 was 1985 (figures are not available for 1986): while only 12,500 came to settle, 17,500 emigrated This trend is expected to continue as long as the fear of war as well as unemployment and economic problems persist.

Ill-founded too, was the hope that vast numbers of Jewish immigrants would be obtained from the Soviet Union and so-called 'affluent-stress' countries such as, formerly, Argentina and now South Africa A new Soviet decree promulgated on January 1, codifying its emigration rules, provides that only the parents, children, brothers and sisters of Soviet citizens may invite members of the family to join them abroad

According to the US-based National Conference on Soviet Jewry, these stringent criteria prohibit 'hundreds of thousands of Jews from ever applying for, much less receiving, permission to emigrate Besides, in the context of present Soviet-US relations, and in the wake of the Irangate revelations, it is unlikely the Russians would risk antagonizing further — and to their own detriment — the Arab world by allowing a substantial exodus of Jews bound directly for Israel And if the past is any guide, between 80 and 90 per cent of Russian Jews, if given the opportunity, would choose destinations other than Israel In addition, a recent survey by the Jewish Agency (the Zionist body concerned with promoting *aliya*) has revealed that South African Jews prefer to emigrate to the US, Australia, New Zealand, and even Zimbabwe. As one publication on the Middle East, writing on the 1984 Falasha airlift from Ethiopia, wryly commented, 'The true moral of the (airlift) story is that only Jewish diaspora communities on the edge of starvation now want to move to Israel'

More traumatic may be relinquishment of the occupied territories, particularly the West Bank, repositories of the greater part of the 'demographic threat'. They have, after all, provided a focus for what little remains of Zionist ideals (i e redemption of all the Land of Israel), badly shaken after the 1982 Sinai withdrawal and which, for better or worse, have inspired the state with a sense of national purpose

Another restraining factor is the argument put forward by certain members of the military that the West Bank would provide vital strategic depth in any future clash with Jordan Opponents of this view dismiss it as nothing but a subterfuge and question the real value of the space afforded in an age of supersonic missiles and aircraft If anything, they add, the scores of Jewish settlements would seriously impede the manoeuvrability of the army.

More important, perhaps, is that the West Bank and Gaza have

contributed to Israel's high standard of living Between 80,000 and 100,000 workers from Gaza and the West Bank enter Israel proper each day to perform the menial and unsavoury jobs Jewish Israelis spurn. In most cases their earnings are 40 per cent lower than the average Israeli wage In addition a variety of taxes are deducted from their pay for benefits they are ineligible to receive (e g unemployment, old age, disability insurance) One left-wing journalist describes the workers as 'cheap labour upon which many Israeli industries have become dependent' and who, by virtue of their mobility and lack of 'social rights', are 'totally adaptable to upheavals in the Israeli economy'

Furthermore, for the past nineteen years the developmental needs and potentials of the territories have been completely subordinated to the self-serving designs of the occupiers The territories' imports and exports are closely monitored to ensure, respectively, that they come from Israeli sources and do not compete with Israeli producers As a consequence, the Arabs have been transformed into captive consumers According to a US economic study, cited in June in the daily *Ha'aretz*, Israel enjoys an $800 million trade surplus with the territories

Finally, a foremost concern of Jerusalem is the impact that an independent Palestinian state, with its own industrial and agricultural needs, would have on Israel's water supply, 30 per cent of which is derived from aquifers (natural underground reservoirs) extending into Israel proper but located, for the most part, beneath the West Bank

Doubtless, the most vociferous opposition to divestment of the territories, especially the West Bank, will come from religious extremists who, though in the minority, fill most of the leadership and opinion-making positions among the roughly 60,000 Jewish settlers It is these settlers, and not the Arabs, who have most benefited from several billion dollars invested in the areas since 1967 by government, business and Jewish philanthropic bodies Armed and committed, the extremists are powerfully connected to Israel's right-wing secular and religious political parties who dream of reconstituting, to a greater or lesser degree, the ancient frontiers of David and Solomon Their constant invoking of the *mitzvah* (Biblical commandment), prohibiting the return of any portion of the Promised Land to the 'gentiles', has won them the support of large numbers of Orthodox Jews both in Israel and abroad. Interviewed in 1985 in the daily *Davar*, Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful) leader Beni Katzover described the idea of a West Bank withdrawal as 'madness', adding that such a move would provoke 'street fighting and public battles' in which some settlers would prefer the use of 'arms' to financial 'compensation' Whether or not the extremists' threat of civil war are bluff, their involvement in various acts of murder and terrorism against Arabs has imbued them with a credibility for violence which would provide a contentious, irresolute government with a welcome pretext for endless vacillation

Unfortunately, Israeli policymakers, unrestrained by Washington or the Diaspora communities and unwilling to or incapable of coping with the awesome socio-political changes that would attend the dismantling of the

nearly century-old 'Zionist enterprise', might opt for the least humane but politically expedient solutions to the demographic threat They could dispense with all pretences to democracy and, building on those discriminatory modalities already in place, become a state like South Africa

Alone, or in concert with this, might be mass expulsions executed under the cover of war or on the pretext of some extraordinary 'security threat' A precedent for this was established when Jewish armed forces drove 300,000 to 400,000 Arabs beyond the borders of partitioned Palestine in 1947-48, and an additional 680,000 (many refugees from 1948) from the West Bank, Gaza and Golan Heights in the June 1967 war And there is no lack of evidence that the wholesale removal of Arabs, from both within Israel proper and the territories, is viewed today in right-wing circles at least as an acceptable alternative to a binational 'Greater Israel' Rabbi Kahane regularly calls for the purification of Israel by excising the Arab 'cancer' In May, Yuval Ne'eman, chairman of the ultra-nationalist Tehiya Party, told a conference of party members on the West Bank that 'any peace treaty with the Arabs must provide for the emigration of 500,000 Arab refugees out of Palestine' Testifying before the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee in July 1982, former US Under-Secretary of State George Ball recalled a conversation with Ariel Sharon (now Minister of Trade and Industry), wherein Ball obtained the impression that it was Sharon's long-term strategy to 'push the Palestinians out of the West Bank', keeping only enough for labour.

In a desperate bid to forestall such an eventuality, the Jordanians announced in November a contemplated $1 3 billion 5-year development plan (contingent on international funding) to enable the inhabitants of the territories, especially the West Bank, in King Hussein's words, to withstand Israeli evacuation policies Hussein, who has rejected overtures by the PLO to transform Jordan into a frontline guerrilla base and whose subjects are over 50 per cent Palestinian is properly fearful of the effect another influx of refugees would have on his rule Fifty-one per cent of the Kingdom's exploding population is under fifteen and unemployment is anywhere between 8 and 12 per cent of the work force In so far as his initiative, backed by the US and Israel, is seen to challenge the influence of the PLO and buttress Jerusalem's strategy of keeping the territories in a protracted state of subservience, the harried monarch has been labelled a 'traitor' by Palestinian nationalists

Meanwhile, the mostly youthful Arab residents of the territories' towns and squalid refugee camps continue to throw stones, stab settlers and fervently proclaim their allegiance to Arafat and the dream of an independent Palestinian homeland

And as they do so, their numbers grow

[H J Skutel is a political writer on the Middle East, now living and working in Montreal]

THE CONDITION OF SCOTLAND QUESTION

by R. D. Kernohan

ERIC Linklater's hero and alter ego Magnus Merriman stood as a Nationalist and was a bit of a Thatcherite before his time He told the voters of Kinluce that 'it is the individual, not the mass of the people, who is responsible for progress' and was convinced that the key to Scotland's politics was that every Scot is at heart an individualist He came bottom of the poll

John Buchan's hero (and at times alter ego) Richard Hannay was nearer the mark when he briefly intruded into Scots politics in one of his many disguises in *The Thirty-nine Steps* Introduced as 'a trusted leader of Australian thought', he told his audience that where he claimed to come from 'there were no Tories only Labour and Liberals' That fetched a cheer

There probably aren't many other passages to make up an anthology of Scottish electoral humour Our politics are generally both dull and solemn, and unhelpful to the comic muse But the two literary allusions probably offer a better introduction to the condition of Scotland question in the aftermath of the 1987 General Election than too earnest a treatise on the 'doomsday scenario' (a phrase worked to death by excited Nationalists and lazy journalists) or even the practical difficulties of ruling Scotland with 10 Conservative MP's out of 72 Twentieth-century Scotland finds Socialism more congenial than individualism, for understandable economic reasons, and it inherits a tradition of hostility to political Conservatism, with the forms of the hostility as ready to adapt and evolve as the styles of the mainly English Tory tradition. Only when a new coalition forms on the right, between traditional Tories and temperamental conservatives, is there an even balance in Scots politics — as there was in the age of the Liberal Unionists after 1886 and in the reaction against the Socialism of the 'Red Clydesiders', sustained into the era of Attlee

Of course, the election came close to striking a kind of Doomsday for the Scots Tories· not just because the fall in their percentage vote from 28 to 24 lost them more than half their seats (thanks to the quirks of the electoral system most of them favour) but because they lost three of their ministerial team and to all their opponents Again Scottish Nationalism showed that it can challenge small-town and rural Conservatism more effectively than it can compete with council-estate Socialism And the Alliance must find winning back Asquith's pre-1918 seat in East Fife — alias Kinluce — some consolation for losing Roy Jenkins's !

The Conservatives very obviously face both immediate and longer-term difficulties A Conservative Government whose Scots MPs can pack into two taxis must ensure that both are driven carefully, for fear of by-elections and other hazards Although their Secretary of State Malcolm Rifkind survives, and has already many of the skills of his predecessor

and fellow-survivor, George Younger, he is the Prisoner of St Andrew's House, for Mrs Thatcher (or her successor in 1990 or whenever, even if it turns out to be Mr Younger) has little scope to promote and reshuffle And, of course, what makes the political difficulties acute — though less than a constitutional crisis by a long way — is that Conservative resistance to parliamentary devolution has gone with consolidation of Scotland's administrative devolution and much evolution of the mini-Cabinet system in the Scottish Office. There is also the difficulty which would be less acute in an old-style Tory government which detested legislation or even treated it as a necessary evil Mrs. Thatcher is a reformer, even at times a radical She encourages other reforms and reformers but the realities of Scottish legislation (as Mr John Biffen quickly pointed out once released from his vows) are determined more by the weak Tory position in Scotland than by the majority of a hundred She wants legislation but not too many Scottish Bills!

Some sensitivity, restraint, compromise, and parliamentary skills can probably cope with most of these problems — provided the taxis are driven carefully The Thatcher Governments of 1979 and 1983, helped by Mr. Younger's nice blend of skill and geniality, disproved some shallow assumptions about when and how Scotland would become ungovernable The new situation is worse, but not so much worse that the fifty Scots Labour MP's will make matters unmanageable, even if they agreed on how and why Besides, many of them are realists, not only about the necessity to work within British political conventions if there is ever to be a Labour Government again — how it would need these fifty seats! — but about why they did so well in Scotland They know that they express Scots economic depression, frustration, and even despair, and that they are the only protest possible (or so it seems to a very large number of Scots) against the inexorable economic pressures that have so shrunk shipbuilding and the steel industry, closed the vehicle plants of the Macmillan era, routed Arthur Scargill, and demonstrated the practical difficulties of peripheral industry in the European Community, lip-service to regional policy notwithstanding. They know that they owe few of their votes to promises of a Scottish Assembly and not even very many to the reaction (probably yet to set in) against the Scots legislation for the community charge instead of rates Modern Scotland — even more now than in Magnus Merriman's day — is not conditioned to individualism in economics or politics. Scope for an 'enterprise culture' exists; but not always in the areas of greatest need And many a Labour voter's encounter with the new style of job creation may be discouraging New jobs, where they exist, may pay less than the jobs of the good old days in the ship-yards, the vehicle works, and the early phases of North Sea oil

The fifty Labour MP's may also pay a very silent homage to their chief benefactress Mrs Thatcher is not just unpopular in Scotland in the way that all Tory Premiers are unpopular there to some degree with anti-Conservative voters Some of the qualities which are her greatest strengths — the 'conviction politics', the scorn of soft options, the

assertiveness, the appearance of being utterly self-confident — are not only related to policies that seem harmful or neglectful to Scottish voters, but come across in a very English way which jars on many a Scots personality Perhaps it often happens sub-consciously, as well as in obvious ways among predictably indignant people Even among Tories (and some other Scots) who can take the Thatcher style it may be easier to admire her than to like her

To the Scots proletarians or peasants — or even to their suburbanised descendants — Mrs Thatcher comes across as the embodiment of a strident Englishness She and Denis aren't seen as the familiar English or Anglicised lairds but as the kind of people they sometimes bring up in August or to whom they might have to rent out the big house or the shooting It is, of course, unfair The Arminian Methodism of Grantham has a lot in common with the Calvinist virtues embedded in much of the Scots character. But unfair or not it is a fact of Scots politics — although an interesting one to be reckoned with when Tories and their opponents reflect on the eventual succession to Mrs Thatcher Could Scotland swing back a bit in 1991?

However, any response now to the condition of Scotland question has to reckon not only with the causes and immediate parliamentary implications of the Scottish election results but with the potential and still problematical effects of the results and of the reaction to the situation emerging from them There was a mood that made Labour revival in Scotland possible, given that a Kinnock campaign was so much more plausible than a Foot one, but the mood now could be a different and even more difficult one So, of course, the Nationalists hope

The Nationalists got a poor election result, given the Scots hostility to the Tories — a net gain of one and the loss from Parliament of their leader, Gordon Wilson Their vote still lags behind even the proportion of Scots who, faced with near-leading questions from pollsters, may say they favour independence But unlike the other parties the SNP campaigned on a theme that was still alive and relevant after polling day what happens to Scotland when England votes Tory again? Their future now depends partly on the accidents (or absence of them) that determine when and where by-elections arise and partly on the way the other opposition parties handle the devolution issue, even though the Government's problems are more obvious

In both the immediate future and the very long term the devolution excitement (evident in the Scots press, among the Glasgow-based broadcasters, and even from some pulpits) poses the most acute problem for the Conservatives In the anguish of local defeat many of them remembered some of the gentler devolutionary tunes they whistled in the days of Ted Heath's 'Declaration of Perth' and in the later Nationalist upsurge of 1974 It occurred to them, for the first time in years, that in 1979 they hadn't really been against devolution, only against Jim Callaghan's brand of it Mr Rifkind's team (and Mr Younger, for that matter) were reminded of some of the obscurer parts of their press-cutting files

Yet in their more lucid and far-sighted moments the Scots Tories see a problem Has devolution — not just of local Scottish legislation but with tax-raising and economic powers — become an inevitable part of the commitment of whatever new left or left-of-centre coalition some day replaces the Conservatives? If so, wouldn't it be wiser for the Tories to take some leisurely initiative? Another Royal Commission? A Green Paper that would be attacked from all sides for very different reasons? Even a new round of local government reform that might abolish the Scottish regions and split their powers between the district authorities and an all-Scottish Assembly? Probably the answers wouldn't be encouraging even if Mrs. Thatcher didn't lead the party and dominate the Cabinet. Better (so it will probably seem) to hope that the storm will blow itself out, with little real significance in its sound and fury Four years are a long time in politics and some of the social changes of Mrs Thatcher's Britain are slowly spreading north There are a good few British Telecom and TSB shares tucked away in Scotland, and council houses are down to half the Scottish total, owner-occupied ones up to 41 per cent.

The Condition of Scotland Question, however, arises from the sense — even among the shareholders and the council-house buyers — of a raw deal from Downing Street. perhaps at the moment from Number 10 rather than from Whitehall or Parliament. The result, in electoral terms, is that Scotland supplies not far short of a quarter of the parliamentary Labour Party and more than a third of the Alliance MP's For most of them the temptation is irresistible to claim that the Government has lost its authority in Scotland or has no 'mandate' there a curious kind of devolution of what has always been a rather dubious doctrine of electoral mandate or the lack of it

Inevitably, too, Labour politicians in and out of parliament have begun to wonder how far to carry the campaign against the community charge. The old Red Clyde had its legends of ancient rent strikes, and the notion of a new form of rates strike has some superficial appeal. Probably it is likelier that the Labour local authorities will exploit as best they can the many practical difficulties in the efficient collection of the 'poll tax' — difficulties which produced many a groan from the civil servants working on the legislation It may be hard to say just when actual obstruction begins But all this, like the prospect of 'non-party' union-backed conventions on unemployment and a fiercer protest if the Ravenscraig steel mill is again threatened, is the normal currency of Scots politics between elections The problem for the opposition parties on devolution is much more serious and profound

It is simplest for the Nationalists They will demand devolution, knowing they won't get it from Mrs Thatcher, and not greatly caring since devolution isn't their aim anyway While they would be grateful for the thin end of the wedge, their purpose is served if a Government can be shown to scorn Scottish public opinion For them what matters is the campaign, not the ostensible objective But the Liberals have given the Alliance an inheritance of vaguely federal aspirations, and Labour has

discovered that devolution, though no great vote-winner and no high priority among voters so far, may become the outward and visible symbol of Scotland's economic frustration and unease with the Thatcher style of government. The Scottish media are as pro-devolution as they are anti-Conservative, which is saying a great deal. The Church, always flattered by politicians when it agrees with them and ignored when it doesn't, lines up on the devolution side. Business is suspicious but the unions go along with the new Labour line, for the Assembly is seen not so much as a forum for purely Scottish legislation but as an instrument of political and economic pressure a counter-weight not to London government in general (as the Alliance would like) but to the particular market philosophy of Mrs Thatcher's Government It is seen as the way to keep open yards or plants or university departments that would otherwise close; as the source of subsidies, incentives, and Keynesian interventions; not just a symbol but a vast job creation scheme

That all of this would be difficult, and some of it impracticable, is part of the appeal of the present situation to the Nationalists. Labour and the Alliance (which could be squeezed into fourth place in Scotland) are forced to campaign for an Assembly in conditions which would put strain even on a long-established federal or devolutionary system And Mrs Thatcher is bound to react as she would if Ken Livingstone told her she must restore the GLC and enhance its powers The difference, of course, is that Scotland is a community, with an identity that even opponents of nationalism call a nationality The Conservatives have to govern it with many handicaps and without deepening its alienation The Socialists have to exploit its grievances (so say the rules of the parliamentary game) without making the grievance seem so profound and so inherent in the system of the Government that only the Nationalist case seems to provide an adequate emotional and logical response The Kinnock clansmen have a vested interest — with a high rate of return — in Scottish discontent Yet their interests as well as their convictions rule out not only separation but any radical federal reconstruction of the United Kingdom For this would logically involve a reduction in the number of Scots MP's, or restriction of their voting rights on purely English affairs, or both

If it needs a radical reform it might be most appropriate, and in line with an older Conservative tradition than Mrs Thatcher's, for the Tories to turn reformers, as Edward Heath inclined to do in 1968-70 — though not once he became Prime Minister There is no sign yet of the will or the imperative necessity required for them to tackle the job The 1987 General Election was not a crisis in the State of the Union It remains to be seen whether the events and moods flowing from its results can create such a crisis

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THE PRACTICE OF REALPOLITIK: SRI LANKA'S ETHNIC STRIFE

by Karan Sawhny

UNTIL the summer of 1983 the Indian Government was able to ignore Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict, hoping perhaps, that it would be resolved by the parties themselves. But the politics of Tamil Nadu, India's Tamil State — riven as it was and is by the factional posturings of the rival DMKs,— Tamil regional parties — was bound to intrude, although the island's conflicts were reflected mostly in rhetoric in the assembly At some point in that year, however, Mrs Gandhi's Government decided that military pressure on the Jayewardene Government was required to induce it to bring about a political settlement in the decades-old conflict Sanctuary was offered to young Tamil militants, many of whom were subsequently trained in the use of modern weapons in well organised camps

After the July 1983 riots which followed the killing of 13 soldiers in a bomb explosion, and the arrival of tens of thousands of refugees in Tamil Nadu, India could not but be involved The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) who were even then the most powerful of the militants and who claimed credit for the bomb explosion, were still a small group Although they had grown in the previous two years the 'boys', which they are no longer called, were widely regarded as a 'fringe' group A number of other groups also existed — with a common thread being a pronounced sympathy for Karl Marx's interpretation of history and analytical methods

Mr Pirbhakaran, the leader of the LTTE and a hero to the adolescents of Jaffna, who had according to legend personally organised the ambush which sparked off the July 1983 holocaust, stepped up recruitment and strengthened his links with the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, under whose protection he was now able to operate from India

The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), previously the main political party of the Tamils, came to be seen by the young Tamils as increasingly less relevant Its leaders fled and were received in India. They demanded Indian intervention and lived off Indian largesse. Neither they nor their hosts anticipated that this would undermine the credibility of the moderates Meanwhile, another group — the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) — was promoted as a rival to the Tigers It was linked to the rival DMK led by Mr Karunanidhi, supported by the TULF leadership and reportedly funded and supplied with weapons and training by RAW, the Indian Government's Foreign Intelligence Agency To complicate matters, Rajiv Gandhi's Congress (I) Party was an electoral ally of the Chief Minister, Mr M. G Ramachandran, who had been brought up and worked in Sri Lanka and favoured the Tigers The other armed groups such as EROS and PLOTE were also powerful and unwill-

ing to kow-tow to either Pirbhakaran, the leader of the Tigers or Sabaratnam, the leader of TELO, or to anyone else

In this context Mrs Gandhi's Chief Advisor on Sri Lanka, Mr G Parthasarthy, conducted intensive negotiations which resulted eventually in a year long conference in 1984 between all of Sri Lanka's 'recognised' political parties, even as the militants and the security forces were competing with each other in the killing of innocents Both the Sinhala chauvinists and the TULF found the conference's proposals unacceptable and Mr. Jayewardene's Government soon after abandoned them

Six months later, during which period the savagery had escalated (both TELO and LTTE had built themselves up and so had the Sri Lanka armed forces), the then Indian Foreign Secretary managed to organise a cease fire and two rounds of talks were held in Thimpu, the capital of Bhutan Included for the first time in talks with the Sri Lankan authorities were representatives of the Tamil armed groups But neither side gave way. The militants walked out when news reached them of the killing of Tamils in breach of the cease fire, which the Sri Lankan authorities unilaterally extended anyway for another three months Two years of brutal killings had still not prepared Sinhala public opinion to make the concessions necessary to satisfy the moderate Tamils' demands for regional autonomy And the militants, especially the Tigers, had their own plans. The conference was later described as 'premature'.

Indian pressure continued, with the management of the country's diplomacy now entrusted to the new Foreign Secretary, Mr. Venkateswaran, Mr. Natwar Singh and a bright young Minister from Tamil Nadu, Mr. Chidambaram. Meanwhile the 'fringe' group — the Tigers — had grown into a powerful guerilla force. In April-May 1986 they launched a sudden attack on their main rivals — TELO — and killed its leader, Sabaratnam, capturing its weapons and fighters It was now in control of much of the northern province and its hold on the Jaffna peninsula was more or less absolute Violent incidents had continued throughout the extended cease fire and from the beginning of 1986 these intensified. The Sinhala authorities had the choice of negotiating with the Tigers who however were not prepared to talk until their 'legitimate national aspirations' were conceded, or with the now discredited TULF whom the Indian Government continued to nurse Indian pressure on Colombo continued and was buttressed by that of western aid donors, who not only had Tamil refugees on their doorsteps but saw their donations being absorbed in the still rapidly growing military

This led in June 1986 to the island government offering the Tamils provincial councils with considerable authority to deal with law and order and land settlement (which was an important step forward from the 1984 conference proposals) Another conference of all recognised political parties was convened and several rounds of talks were held in the summer and autumn of 1986, which brought about an agreement between the TULF and the Jayewardene government on almost all issues except the unification of the northern and eastern provinces The Tigers whose arms

dumps, supplies and leader Mr. Pirbhakaran, were in India, were persuaded 'not to oppose the negotiations' But it was clear that without their acquiscience no settlement could either be reached or implemented. The Indian government's leverage over them was constrained by the Congress (I) party's alliance with Mr. M. G Ramachandran — the Tigers' patron in Tamil Nadu

In November 1986, however, the SAARC summit in Bangalore catalysed the Indian authorities into disarming the militants, who had become a law and order problem even within Tamil Nadu Leaders of some groups were taken into custody and Pirbhakaran himself flown to Bangalore. Mr. M. G Ramachandran now appeared willing to cooperate with the Central Government in order to put pressure on the militants. The Tigers received, loud and clear, the message of the SAARC summit with its members pledging 'not to allow their territories to be used by rebel groups for activities against one another' Not much came of the SAARC meetings or the attempts to pressurise the Tigers and in December 1986 they carried out the liquidation of their remaining rivals. The Tamil Nadu authorities also back-tracked and the Police Chief who had organised the raids was sacked. This breathing space enabled Pirbhakaran to remove himself and much of his equipment to Jaffna where the Tigers had announced that they would set up a civilian administration from New Year's day 1987 — a move the Sri Lankan authorities interpreted as a sort of creeping unilateral declaration of Independence.

Meanwhile the two Indian Ministers, Chidambaram and Natwar Singh, extracted on 19th December 1986 a promising concession from the Colombo Government, whereby they agreed to consider removing some areas with Sinhalese populations in the eastern province, so that it would have a Tamil majority. The unification of the eastern and northern provinces would no longer be essential to the Tamils and the hardliners among the Sinhalese would be mollified. But the Tigers were not impressed.

Nevertheless, in December 1986 it appeared that Indira Gandhi's strategy of putting military pressure on the Jayewardene Government while at the same time promoting a political settlement between it and the TULF had succeeded in creating a viable framework for a durable settlement. Even the Tiger's Northern Commander, was willing to accept a 'reasonable settlement' provided a 'Tamil homeland' in the North at least was conceded in principle Ever since the crackdown on the Tamil armed groups and the anger of India's Tamils towards the Tigers, following their liquidation of their rivals, this group too seemed more amenable

But the arrival of Pirbhakaran in Jaffna coupled with the economic blockade and the launching of an offensive by the Sri Lankan armed forces in February completely changed the situation The Tigers' spokesman who had boasted in December 1986 that 'they were winning and saw no reason to negotiate' now began to talk of the effect of the blockade on Jaffna's women and children The death toll mounted to 500 in February — the highest in any month since the July 1983 massacres

and the Indian government suspended its mediation in protest against the blockade and Colombo's pursuit of the military option The Tigers now perceived their bargaining position as weak and rejected the Sri Lanka President's offer of a cease fire and a General Amnesty if they agreed to peace talks Their foolish decision to take over the civil administration in Jaffna backfired and thousands of Tamils fled the peninsula, reversing the 1983 trend of Tamils trying to get away from the Sinhala areas The island's security forces made considerable progress in suppressing the militants in the eastern province, having sought and got the help both of western mercenaries and survivors of the Tigers' liquidation efforts Jayewardene informed the Indian Government that his forces would only cease military action if 'the armed separatists cease armed violent operations and related military preparations' as well as stop interfering 'with the legal administration of the area' It seemed that the Sri Lankan hardliners' 'two track strategy' of on the one side inching towards agreement with the now powerless moderate leaders and on the other conducting military operations to weaken the militants bargaining position was succeeding All through March and early April military operations continued, bottling up the Tigers in Jaffna which is joined to the rest of the island by a small neck of land called the Elephant Pass Indian mediators again persuaded the Colombo Government into declaring a ten day cease fire effective from April 10, 1987, preliminary to peace talks if the ceasefire held But it was sabotaged on Easter Sunday by the massacre of Sinhalese passengers travelling in the eastern province in a bus, followed two days later by the explosion of a large bomb in Colombo's crowded bus terminal in which outrage several persons died and scores were injured Although the Tigers denied responsibility the authorities put the blame on them and intensified attacks including airstrikes on their bases The Prime Minister, Mr Premadasa, a confirmed hardliner, declared that his government would consider political discussions 'only after peace was restored' The Colombo government had decided to capture the thickly populated Jaffna peninsula, giving way to the demands of its hardliners Important parts of the peninsula have been captured but the Tigers still control Jaffna city Should the Tigers be eliminated and the Sri Lanka armed forces succeed in suppressing all the armed groups, their victory will be pyrhhic until an honourable political settlement is reached, for the island's economy is incapable of sustaining permanently the armed occupation of the Tamil areas

There can be no doubt, however, that India's mediatory efforts failed, mainly due to the inflexibility of the Tigers and the incapacity of India's leaders at the opportune moment, to persuade them to negotiate In some sense this made the military operations inevitable, but the scale and intensity of the fighting and the number of civilian casualties, put Rajiv Gandhi's Government in an awkward situation. The need to keep Tamil public opinion happy led to the fiasco of the relief boat convoy The need to save face as a consequence in the context of his domestic political troubles, perhaps, explain Rajiv Gandhi's decision to paradrop supplies.

But this gesture, made as it was for domestic Indian consumption just before the Haryana assembly elections, still could not induce the Tigers to negotiate or prevent the Sri Lankan army from carrying out its plans. Military intervention was widely perceived within India as contrary to the national interest Nevertheless, ostentatious preparations were made at the behest of Sinhalise hard-liners and chauvinists. By now, the reactions to the airlift of food and other commodities has faded into insignificance, after the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi's, historic visit to Sri Lanka and the signing of a peace treaty in collaboration with the President of Sri Lanka, Junuis Jayewardene, aimed to avert a permanent state of civil war between the government and the Tamil Tigers Delicate negotiations are still in progress with the Tamil leader Velupillar Pirbhakaran and likely to continue for sometime but the outcome looks fairly hopeful

If there is a lesson to be learned, it is that realism, both about goals and the methods used to achieve them is prerequisite for the practice of realpolitik

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SPAIN'S MEDITERRANEAN POLICY

by Roberto Mesa

SINCE General Franco's death and the introduction of a democratic system, Spain has been searching for a new foreign policy differing in aims and methods from that pursued by its diplomats during the forty-year dictatorship Now that more than a decade has passed since the demise of totalitarianism, it is safe to say that Spain has the opportunity to conduct a different foreign policy The matter concerning us here is the extent to which Spain can achieve some degree of independence in its international activities Complete independence is, understandably, an unattainable Utopia One reason is that the interdependence of international relations does not permit isolated action Another is the international position of Spain, its strategic significance, its dependence in terms of energy, its economic limits and its incorporation into Western Europe, to say nothing of Spain's specific problems with adjacent countries.

During these past ten years Spain, while framing its new foreign policy, has been involved in a number of events worthy of analysis Decisive significance attaches to occurrences during the first six months of 1986 On January 1 of that year Spain and Portugal acceded to the Treaty of Rome, making Spain a full-fledged member of the European Economic Community. Thus was fulfilled one of the dreams of the Spanish people and government, with the interests of all political parties and socio-economic forces coinciding Nor could it have been otherwise, as more than half Spain's foreign trade is with EEC countries Economic interests pointed the way to the EEC, but membership has also a political dimension Spain thereby became a member of the 'club' of Western European democratic countries

Somewhat later, on March 12, 1986, the Spanish people, voting in a referendum, said 'yes' to the country remaining in the Atlantic Pact, which it had joined on May 30, 1984 Felipe Gonzalez's government thus kept its promise of consulting the nation on this momentous decision, keeping Spain in NATO with the approval of a large majority of Spaniards President Gonzalez had made a three-fold undertaking before the referendum, which no doubt accounted for the result· non-inclusion in NATO's military structure, denuclearization of Spanish territory and reduction of the American military presence

Finally, between these two events Spain, on January 17, 1987, recognized the state of Israel in a joint statement by Felipe Gonzalez and Shimon Peres, made public on the same day in The Hague. Published simultaneously by the Spanish Government were the conditions attending its recognition of Israel condemnation of the occupation of Arab territories beginning in June 1967 and the creation of Israeli settlements on these territories; a demand for their removal; a refusal to countenance any change whatsoever in the status of Jerusalem (and it was with this

understanding that Spain opened an embassy in Tel Aviv); confirmation of support for the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of their own national state, sovereign and independent. Contrary to some expectations, no hostile reaction was forthcoming from the Arab countries or the PLO, the only exception being an Arab League communique expressing regret Briefly, it may be asserted that the exchange of ambassadors between Madrid and Tel Aviv had no negative effect on Spain's relations with the Arab countries.

These three events brought to a close a stage in Spain's foreign policy, inaugurated with the introduction of democracy and consisting of a normalization of diplomatic relations with other countries, regardless of ideological and other differences. Outstanding in significance is the achievement of the most important diplomatic goal for Spain complete incorporation into Western Europe via the European Economic Community Inevitably, a high price had to be paid and undoubtedly the highest one was Spain's integration into the Atlantic Pact, a factor decisive in its impact during talks with other European countries, especially West Germany and Italy Now, the Spanish Government has to face important challenges in continuing a diplomatic policy designed to consolidate its position and carve out a higher level of independence The challenges are as follows· adjusting Spanish economy to Common Market structures without provoking major dislocations in internal economic mechanisms; decreasing American military presence in Spain. Negotiations now in progress with Washington are hard going, in addition to which, time presses, as the present treaty between Spain and the USA is renewable in 1989 A third challenge relates to achieving greater autonomy in international relations Stress must be laid on the enthusiasm and satisfaction expressed by Gonzalez's government in regard to Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals on nuclear disarmament

The above comments confirm how resolutely Spain has opted for a definitively European foreign policy It could hardly have been otherwise, given the country's geographic, economic, strategic and political situation. From our standpoint, however, Spain is not simply a European country Historically and culturally, Spain has two other major dimensions. Latin American and Mediterranean

It would be desirable for Spain's presence in EEC institutions to generate political and economic influence. Spain's Mediterranean policy aims may be defined in general outline as follows. first, to envisage the Mediterranean as a specific geographic region encompassing both European, Arabic developing, communist and capitalist countries Second, to define a cultural vision of the Mediterranean as a cradle of culture. Third, Spain should give impetus to all Mediterranean projects for promoting peace, beginning, obviously, with the Middle East There will be no peace in this region until the Palestinian people are allowed to exercise their rights. Spanish diplomats should be present at all negotiating sessions by general consent, since Spain enjoys excellent relations with the Arab countries. In the struggle for peace in the Mediterranean, an active

Spanish foreign policy should take account of all existing projects, regardless of how utopian and unattainable they might seem to be

The achievement of these important goals does not, unfortunately, depend only on the coastal nations since here, as in numerous other areas around the world, the two superpowers hold the dominant position. And they, as we well know, have transformed the Mediterranean into one of the major arenas of confrontation However, if the present disarmament talks produce results, new possibilities at regional level may be opened up The ultimate goal would be an ecologically balanced Mediterranean, free of atomic weapons, foreign navies and pollution. The Mediterranean does not represent merely cultural wealth It is a region possessing vast material resources requiring protection by the nations living along its shores

As a Mediterranean country, Spain has its own specific problems. There is no possibility of ignoring the fact that the last remnant of colonialism in Europe is to be found on Spanish soil — Great Britain's presence in Gibraltar, as unjust as it is anachronistic While this is an affront to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Spain, the existence of an Atlantic Pact military base in Gibraltar puts a question mark against the denuclearization of Spanish soil Thus, Gibraltar stands as a threat to international peace and security. This may seem like a demagogic claim but if we recall that some British ships assigned for participation in the recent Malvina Islands war with Argentina sailed out from the naval base in Gibraltar, the statement takes on a different complexion

American military bases also are located in Spain They are joint military bases for the joint defence of the countries, signatories of the corresponding bilateral agreement, but may not be utilised for other purposes or incorporated into the NATO military structure A relic of the Cold War, the bases came into being in 1953. Now, the nuclear missiles have lost much of their effectiveness but there is a fear that reduction of nuclear forces could again upgrade the significance of these military bases in conventional terms. No observer of international affairs can plead ignorance of the difficulties surrounding any kind of proposal for the removal of the big powers' military bases from the territory of other countries.

An important long-range objective would be removal of these military installations and the prohibition of any foreign military presence in Spain A medium-range goal would be a substantial reduction in military contingents, weapons and American military equipment, especially in view of Spain having joined NATO. To put it more precisely, the USA should not use its military units in Spain for operations against other Mediterranean countries in any way not commensurate with Spain's national interests We might recall here the tension generated by the US aggression by air and sea against Libya It has never been clarified whether American supply planes took off from Spain for Great Britain in the support operation It is well known, however, that the Madrid Government did not give its consent to Washington for American planes

flying to Libya and back to overfly Spanish territory. For the foregoing reasons, an initial reduction of American military presence in Spain, followed by its complete withdrawal, would constitute a great contribution to demilitarisation of the Mediterranean.

The tension in Spain's relationship with Morocco was defined long ago. First, there was the Spanish colonial presence in the northern zone of the Protectorate and then the senseless and unjust solution of the so-called 'Spanish-Sahara', ignoring totally the legitimate rights of the Saharan people Compounding this is the ongoing dispute over fishing rights along the Moroccan coast, a solution to which will now be sought at the level of the European Community.

While all these considerations are important, most urgent of all is without doubt the existence of Ceuta and Melilla, Spanish towns on the Moroccan coast In spite of the historical and legal reasons that could be cited, it goes without saying that the Spanish presence there is incompatible with Morocco's territorial integrity For a time, both sides conducted diplomatic consultations aimed at creating a parallel between the destiny of these two towns and the question of Gibraltar's future Now, apparently, these exchanges have been abandoned. Until a satisfactory solution to the problem can be found, Spanish diplomatic activity in the Mediterranean will be under a grave disadvantage A point has been reached where one may ask if there is any formula whatsoever for settling the matter Of course there has to be, and it can be found in international law But even without recourse to international courts, a course available at any time, the right way to negotiate would be along two lines. finding a formula for incorporation of the two cities into Moroccan sovereignty and a settlement regarding the legitimate rights and interests of the population

Other motives and arguments could possibly be put forward for a greater participation by Spain in Mediterranean affairs. It would, on the other hand, be absurd to imagine that Spain could undertake such diplomatic initiatives within a matter of months For now that democratic Spain has laid the foundations of its new diplomacy the hardest part is yet to come Inevitably, international relations in the 21st century will unfold along lines far removed from the old style conflicts and confrontations, not because of altruism, but for the sake of sheer survival Perhaps the Hour of the People will strike; perhaps this concept will outweigh reasons of State In that context Spain, as a truly European country, cannot and should not renounce its Mediterranean or its Latin American dimension

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'LA GARROCHA', FLAMENCO AS AN EXPRESSION OF COMMUNITY

by Simon Cottle

IN certain parts of Spain Flamenco is not so much a traditional folk art to be performed and watched on select occasions but rather forms a living undercurrent to daily life and culture which is likely to explode into life at any moment In a few areas of Spain this undercurrent is so strong, so pervasive that it forms a tide which finds expression in a number of local Flamenco bars Triana, a traditional working class area of Seville to the south of the Rio Guadalquivir, is just such an area Before setting out on the trail of a Flamenco evening however, it is as well to forget certain conventions and customs The idea, for instance, that the evening's activities will begin around 8, 9 or even 10 pm should be discarded, as should the convention that children ought to be in bed at a certain hour Even the notion that people generally go to sleep for some part of the night is likely to be challenged And on a Saturday night, with families, romantic couples, groups of teenagers and grand-parents all out on the streets in their Sunday best and probably having eaten a good solid Spanish meal at one of the countless riverside bars and restaurants, the ingredients for a good night out are definitely to hand.

Around 11 pm, just as the tempting odours of fried sardines, squid and other delicacies are finally beginning to dissipate in the night air, one is likely to hear the percussive strains of a guitar rising above the animated conversation. Making one's way to Calle Salado, an ordinary backstreet to the south of the Plaza de Cuba, a number of open bars shoot forth the machine-gun rattles of amplified guitars as they race through the local form of Flamenco *Sevill a nas*

Entering one typical bar two guitarists, equipped with highly strung and golpeadored guitars and seemingly rubber wrists, were blasting out their choruses of *Sevill a nas* in between unbelievably fast passages of rhythm or *rasgueo* Meanwhile, in a darkened corner, other solo and duet acts were tuning up their battered guitars and warming up right-hand techniques before taking a turn on the diminutive platform. The informal atmosphere of the bar was enhanced by a number of cured hams hanging above the bar and occasionally bumping into the rows of bottles containing blood-red wine As we sat at the bar, sampling the excellent selection of chilled wine, a troop of young girls bedecked in bright polka-dotted dresses entered the bar and immediately took up their positions on the dance floor The guitarists launched into yet another section of *rasgueo* to introduce the next *Sevill a na* and the girls instantaneously assumed dignified poses and moved in unison in swirling routines, arms held high, fingers clicking rhythmically

A little farther down the same street another, slightly larger bar, *La Garrocha,* beckoned the crowds with similar blasts of sound and a welcoming sign boasting air-conditioning — a factor not to be underestimated

on a sweltering summer evening At the far end of this bar a trio of guitarists and a singer enthusiastically set about creating a lively and exciting atmosphere as they ran through innumerable variations of *Sevill a nas,* fervantly applauded by the growing crowd With a bottle of dark red wine and seats secured we sat back to watch the evening develop as the long bar began to fill with cheerful local people and an expectant atmosphere.

The scene now set, another guitarist takes up his position and immediately begins to play a *salida,* or introductory passage employing the characteristic finger rolling technique, *rasgueado,* to effect a breath-taking demonstration of controlled right-hand technique Members of the audience took up their dancing positions as the guitarist created a whirlwind introduction to a favourite *Sevill a na* Joined by two singers, the guitarist set a fast pace while dancers in dignified and almost defiant postures twisted and turned in time to the racing rhythm The atmosphere was electric as the audience joined in unison and shot out a barrage of *palmas* which filled the bar like a rolling volley of rifle-fire Young and old came together to impose layer upon layer of syncopated rhythm on to the racing but steady beat or *compás* set by the guitarist There were no great artistic or formal conventions to separate the performer from the audience Everybody was participating in and contributing to the unique fusion of music and dance

Three young boys in their teens clipped out passages of overlapping staccato rhythm, each employing different *palmas* and slightly different rhythms, combining to create an exciting fusion of sound which in turn responded to the crescendo reverberating around the long bar. An old lady sitting opposite could contain herself no longer as she shouted out *Ole* and *Bravo* Her elderly husband, not to be outdone, beat the floor with his walking stick in time to the inescapable beat.

With the hall now reverberating with percussive rhythm the next act would surely have a hard task to maintain such a feverish pitch of excitement A young guitarist took up his seated position, balancing his guitar in characteristic flamenco fashion high upon his knee Then, with a deafening tirade of *rasgueado,* he launched out on yet another *Sevill a nas* Three young dancers appeared, each dressed in traditional Flamenco costume; the two girls wearing flowing crimson and flourescent green dresses, *bodas de cola* and the young man tight trousers and flamboyant shirt, *camisa rizada* At the sight of them the old lady wiped her eyes muttering *bello, bello* The young man and one of the two girls stood at the back of the stage animatedly clapping out supportive passages of rhythm as the other girl slowly but defiantly hammered out phrases of rhythm with her feet The underlying *compás* of the song persisted throughout while expertly she wove ever increasingly complicated rhythms with her tapping heels as the song approached a roaring crescendo, keeping her head high and her back rigid, her feet thundered out on the wooden floor a set pattern sufficiently loud to eclipse the rest of the group With the hall now totally silent except for the crashing rhythm of her heels,

she embarked upon a 'trembling' effect, or *tremblèque,* a rapidly alternation of the feet as slowly she wound her way from one side of the stage to the other At this the crowd went wild as, maintaining a defiant air of indifference she enticed the young male dancer to join her

Weaving and winding their way around each other in dignified and evocative postures, a conversation of dance unfolded to the delight of everybody present And so the evening wore on, indifferent to the passage of time, as the young dancers sang, played and danced, arriving at crescendo after crescendo of dance, music and song Only when the young female dancer was convinced of the worthiness of the audience however, did she fling back her hair and pull up her long skirts to create a wild and suggestively erotic dance improvised upon the skilful playing of the guitarist who followed and occasionally led the changes in tempo

The audience and performers were at one, young and old welded together in expressive unity in the shared knowledge, expertise and delight of their own cultural form Here was a demonstration of Folk Art form at its best, and a confirmation of the special vitality that Flamenco continues to exercise in certain areas of Spain.

RELIGION, EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

by John J. Haldane

THE continuing debate about the future of religious education and denominational schools has become more animated as a result of recent developments including the publication of research concerning the extent to which the present law is ignored; the application by immigrant communities for state aid for Islamic schools and, most recently, remarks by the Bishop of Durham in which he announced his support for the phasing out of voluntary-aided church schools and the repeal of the assembly requirements of the 1944 Education Act. Thus, not for the first time, and doubtless not for the last, religious education is a matter of public controversy. Reports of the widespread failure of schools to observe the requirements of the 1944 Education Act in respect of religious instruction and assembly have provided material for both supporters and opponents of the present law — being regarded either as evidence for the necessity of legal enforcement, or for the absurdity of it, respectively

Of course, there have always been people who oppose RE on the grounds that religion is not a proper subject for inclusion within the curriculum· either because they think it cannot be an area of knowlegde, or else because they suppose that while it may be, it is not the business of schools to provide such education, for religion is non-empirical, essentially personal and on both counts liable to contention.

Likewise, the existence of denominational schools within the maintained sector is a subject of long-standing dispute Opposition to them is usually based on two claims First, and following on from the previous points, it is argued that what has no place in the curriculum certainly ought not to provide the dominant idea by reference to which the whole of a child's education is conducted Second, it is claimed that sectarian schooling is socially divisive and entirely at odds with the ideas and values of a secular, liberal, pluralist society and therefore should not receive state support

The religious education provisions of the 1944 Act are partly inherited from earlier legislation and are partly the product of the noble efforts of Lord Butler and Archbishop Temple to create a legal framework within which those who wish it can be provided with a denominational religious environment while others are afforded some minimal introduction to the religious tradition of British Society, while yet allowing such as wish their children not to be involved in RE classes or collective worship the choice of their consciences

The Butler/Temple clauses and parallel legislation in Scotland rest on several assumptions that religion is a significant and valuable aspect of human life; that our society has been deeply influenced by the Christian tradition; and that being a matter of deep significance in the lives of individuals their religious attitudes must be respected.

Not surprisingly, those in favour of preserving the existing arrange-

ments are, for the most part, religious believers However, not all members of religious communities, and indeed not even all churchmen support retention of denominational schools and statutory preservation of RE. Recently Bishop Jenkins of Durham presented the case against both to a conference on comprehensive education arguing that given the pluralistic nature of contemporary society voluntary schools should now be dissolved and that the requirement of religious assembly is likewise no longer appropriate

Since government will soon seek to introduce a new Education Act, and this would provide an opportunity for amending or repealing the religious clauses, it is important to consider the question· what is the future of RE in a pluralist society?

No useful discussion of the matter is likely to emerge from consideration of the truth of religious claims The question at issue has a philosophical dimension but is social, political and educational and *not* theological It is necessary, however, to note that religious belief and, by the same token, atheism may both be rational — no matter that they are clearly contradictories For while one or other of them must be true (and the other false) there are considerations supporting each and no conclusive arguments against either The importance of this point is simply that it blocks any objection to present practice which rests on the claim that religion ought not to feature in education because it is irrational Some believers may be irrational but that is a truth about them and not about the status of what they believe

An illuminating insight into the patterns of thought of opponents of the present position is provided by their response to the appeal by Asian communities in Bradford and London for voluntary aided Islamic schools. The NUT, for example, produced a working paper arguing against this development and urging instead greater respect for the cultural traditions of immigrant communities within non-denominational maintained schools And in conjunction with this it suggests that social integration of such groups would be better effected if present law were changed and Christianity was no longer accorded privileged status

Several aspects of this response are of interest First, it takes no account of the development of Agreed Syllabuses such as those operating in the Midlands which, in accord with current legislation, have been designed by committees including representatives of several Christian denominations and of non-Christian religions

Second, it fails to take seriously the Islamic groups' demands by supposing that their request to have distinct religiously oriented schools could be even partly met by offering instead 'respect' for their cultural traditions within distinctively non-religious institutions This failure derives from the assumption that one can simply separate creed and culture· denying full expression to religious tradition while yet respecting and even encouraging patterns of behaviour, dress, dietary custom, etc, which issue from, and only retain significance in virtue of that religious tradition.

There is a story told of a teenage girl who went out to buy a piece of

jewellery and decided she would have a cross and chain When shown one sort by a shop assistant she replied 'No, I want one with a little man on it'. (Here an object had lost its original cultural identity and, perhaps, was acquiring a new one) It is no expression of respect for cultural tradition to delight in a cross around a child's neck (with or without 'a little man') but to deny her parents the right to have her taught in a school with a crucifix on the wall, a weekly Mass, and co-religionist teachers who know and acknowledge the significance of that cross Likewise, one betrays at best shallowness and at worst insincerity in discouraging Islamic schools while encouraging Islamic (i e. religious) culture.

A third point of interest is the assumption that church schools are socially divisive It is difficult to give a sense to this claim in which it is anything other than trivial or unproven. If what is meant is that children educated in different kinds of schools are likely to differ in their sets of beliefs and attitudes this is doubtless true but of course it holds for all schools Children given secular schooling in Bristol, Glasgow and London are likely to differ in this respect as are children educated within any one of these places. Differences make for differences, but nothing follows from this about social division in some substantial sense

Of course, those who invoke the idea of divisiveness have something else in mind which they illustrate by reference to the civil hostilities in Ulster, claiming that these are in part products of sectarian schooling. But while this claim is obviously not trivial, neither is it obviously true. Indeed, it seems to be false Certainly the loyalist/republican division largely coincides with a religious one but the dispute between the groups has been and remains essentially *political* not religious Separate schooling is not the origin of this division but a product of it, and one does not eliminate a cause by acting against its effects Moreover, inasmuch as religion is a real influence in Northern Ireland it works in support of forgiveness and reconciliation — distinctly Christian values Undoubtedly the troubles would be reduced if these attitudes were more effectively inculcated but that is a reason to improve RE not to eliminate it or to dissolve denominational institutions dedicated to their transmission.

It is, moreover, curious that resistance to the claim of religious communities for their own schools should be supported by assertions that ours is a pluralist, multi-racial, multi-faith society and that this fact should shape educational policy For given the essential links mentioned above between creed and culture it is only to be expected that in such a society different denominations will seek their own schools; and this is surely a legitimate aspiration Equally, any move to prevent or eliminate religious institutions constitutes a challenge to the ideal of cultural diversity and a move in the direction of enforced uniformity — engineered social monism

Out of the foregoing emerges a further point of interest For part of the objectors' case against church schools is that they constitute an abuse of education by treating it as a means for the expression and transmission of philosophical viewpoints Yet the attempt to promote the cause of social unity through the dissolution of such institutions is itself precisely this All

that obscures this important fact is that the operative socio-moral ideal of the objectors is now orthodox among educationalists

It should be clear then, that far from the arguments against denominational schools being conclusive the reformers' case involves tensions and rests upon premises which are themselves suspect There is, however, a more deeply-rooted assumption which underlies much of the opposition to both church schools and to existing RE and assembly requirements, *viz*· a radical individualist conception of society and of the role of government. This view is widely subscribed to and has obviously attractive features However, it also conflicts with many of our social practices and the ideas which support them

For the individualist society is a voluntary association of persons each of whom acts in accord with his or her values, plans and projects, etc. Social institutions, most especially government, only have such legitimate authority as individuals grant them Relatedly, it is taken to be no business of government to promote any particular conception of what is good and of how life should be conducted — not even individualist ones! Rather, it may only act so as to ensure, insofar as this is possible, that men and women can pursue their own interests in the light of their own, freely chosen ends.

In the field of education this view implies that schools may not seek to transmit any particular values or philosophy of life Their function is simply to equip children with the means of acquiring knowledge and of acting upon it Given this social theory it is clear that state support of denominational schools and of RE elsewhere in the maintained sector is entirely illegitimate

The reasoning employed in this argument is persuasive; however, its premises deserve to be questioned Ours is a 'liberal democratic society' in the familiar sense of this expression and respect for persons is a constitutive aspect of liberal democracy But conjoined in our implicit social philosophy with acceptance of this political system is a deep attachment to the values of community and traditional patterns of life In opposition to the radical individualist we regard the conduct of social affairs as subject to prior moral constraints which are not simply a product of the chosen values of individuals but are our common inheritance as members of the same society Justice, integrity and freedom, for example, are ideals to which our behaviour is required to conform independently of personal interests Likewise, benevolence, loyalty, friendship, patience, industry and wisdom are constituent virtues in our shared conception of a decent human life

Once these facts are acknowledged a rather different view of the role of government suggests itself It is not a contingent utility but an expression of social existence and is not kept in being merely to execute the preferred policies of individuals, whatever these might be, but is charged with the task of promoting social life through the establishment and maintenance of institutions dedicated to our common values

With respect to education this view suggests a notion of schooling

distinct from the purely 'technological' one associated with individualism. Schools exist to impart knowledge and to transmit certain values, not simply to provide 'neutral' skills. Indeed, the very existence of educational institutions lends support to this account; for it presupposes a view of personal development as a good whose promotion is worthy of considerable resources.

Returning now to the issue of RE, a justification for its retention begins to take form. British society has been shaped by the Christian tradition and continues to be influenced by it From the formal institutions of the state, including parliament and the courts, through such social services as medicine and education, to the less impersonally defined institutions of marriage and the family the presence of Christian ideas can be discerned. Moreover, their influence is not that of distant causes as, for example, is the case with the Norman conquest. Rather, Christian ideas such as the brotherhood of man, the dignity of persons and the objectivity of value, render these institutions intelligible and provide justifications.

This is not to argue that ours is a religious society or to suggest that it should be. The point is rather that among the determinants of contemporary life the Christian religion retains a special significance and this being so it is appropriate that schools should reflect it in what they teach. Again, the suggestion is not that they ought to provide catechetical instruction, for that would be to presume too much both about religion and about the authority of the state. Besides, this defence of RE is linked with the earlier argument on behalf of voluntary aided schools. Parents wishing for their children to be educated in religious faith should be permitted the means of achieving this

It would be facile to suggest that the issues discussed above admit of any easy or final solution. But equally it is possible to make progress with them by first recognising that the problems are political and educational ones and that the two main opposing views rest ultimately upon conflicting conceptions of society and of the purposes of education, and not, ironically, on disagreements about the truth or falsity of religion. The question in urgent need of consideration is not· is there any place for RE in our society? but rather, given that there is, what form ought it to take? In denominational schools this question is largely answered in terms of catechetical traditions but in the maintained sector the problem is of a different order and for all the experiments in the teaching of RE in the last quarter century no obviously successful general approach has yet been developed

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JAPAN, JAPANESE AND THE BRITISH PRESS

by Anthony Head

TRADE frictions there obviously are and doubtless always will be whether over tariffs on imported Scotch or a contract for a bridge over the Bosphorus. But any review of Anglo-Japanese relations over the past two or three years will be bound to conclude that there have been some remarkable achievements

A Chair in Japanese Studies has been established at Cambridge University, financial courtesy (to the tune of £650,000) of Japanese industry, and University College London is currently planning Britain's first courses in Japanese law. The Victoria and Albert Museum is to gain a new gallery through a £350,000 donation from Toshiba, and Japan's National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka recently purchased for £600,000 a 3,000-piece Victorian collection of Western Pacific art-works from Newcastle University when no British institution could be found to buy it.

Last year saw major exhibitions in Japan of Constable, Turner, and the cream of the National Gallery of Wales collection And the so-called Cambridge English School project, involving the British Council, Suntory Ltd, and the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, has flourished in Toyko, growing from one school to three within two years

The six-day visit of Prince Charles and Princess Diana in May of last year, however, was the very thick icing on the cultural cake, sending the mass media, department stores and fashion houses into an ecstatic frenzy of activity (three new Japanese language books on the Royal Family rolled off the presses in time for the visit and eleven magazines produced special editions devoted to 'Charles and Di') and bringing Union Jack wavers to the streets in their thousands

The Japan Times, self-styled leader of Japan's four English-language dailies, carries its share of articles about Britain, though that share is admittedly small in a country so eagerly tuned to things American A regular column by Tory MP David Howell reassures its readers that although Conservative Britain does have its political and social problems, the Conservatives are well up to solving them and they are nothing to the problems Britain would have had with any government other than Conservative!

TV commercials help bolster a general image of Britain as a nation of upper-middle-class 'gentlemen' in Scottish knitwear drinking Lipton's tea after a hard day on the golf links It may be selective and naive, but it is rarely deliberately misleading or condescending.

By contrast, the image of Japan and the Japanese presented by the British press is one which often seems designed to appeal if not directly to those luckless few who worked on the Burma Railway then to those who find bowing intrinsically hilarious There is frequently a wide discrepancy between the reality experienced by informed foreigners living

in Japan and the image presented to the British public in the newspapers.

A letter from a frustrated reader criticizing *The Guardian's* correspondent last year in *The Daily Yomiuri*, for whom the correspondent also writes, struck a chord of sympathy in Japan when it cited the 'adolescent level of reporting' as 'ludicrously simple — a rumour here, a grumble there, a fault or two thrown in for good measure — all whipped up into a gloriously over-magnified cocktail of comic-style journalism' It is a parody which is widely applicable

Last spring, *The Guardian* had its much self-publicized 'A Week in Japan' blitz, with results as comprehensive and accurate as one could expect when a team of non-Japanese speaking journalists are packed off to Tokyo for seven days to report on everything under the sun. The above-criticized resident correspondent's contribution noted 'the piracy of English' in Japan, a country of 'incorrigible nationalists' where 'undesirable Western influences are corrupting the moral Japanese' Banner headlines announced that 'In Japan commerce has shamelessly embraced the visual arts' (shamelessly mind, not usefully or fruitfully or ingeniously) and noted 'The Nasty Games Tokyo's market operators play'.

It was not all like this, of course, but journalistic habits die hard Only in January *The Listener* published a piece bemoaning the arrival of 'sumo' wrestling on Channel 4, as informed — it mentioned 'hairy buttocks' — as the article was presumably designed to be humorous, defining 'sumo' as a contest between 'two mobile tubs of lard attired in Day-Glo jockstraps' The writer was working well within the mainstream of *panem et circenses* journalism on Japan.

So was the newly arrived *Financial Times* correspondent who, a couple of years ago, produced a piece entitled 'Learning to Speak Japanese'. The article was concerned to demonstrate that the Japanese language is so intractable and incomprehensible that most foreigners soon give up their attempts to learn it

The author saw the Japanese as 'inscrutable', not merely to the West but to 'each other', and the Japanese language as perfectly suited to this characteristic

It is well, of course, for the *Financial Times* that its reputation does not reside in cultural reportage; for of all the Japan-related journalism churned out in recent years this article stood head and shoulders above the rest, if only by virtue of its consistent factual inaccuracies

It stated, for example, that 'there is only one expression for stupid' in Japanese — a claim the Japanese might well denounce as *baka na, bakarashi, bonkura na* or *tsumaranai*, and the journalist as an *aho* — and that the word 'rude' does 'not exist in Japanese' There are, of course, several words for rude, covering a range of nuances. The most commonly used word — *shitsurei* — is usually found in verbal form — *'shitsurei shimasu'*, literally 'I am being rude' but used to mean 'excuse me'. It is impossible to pass a single day in Japan without hearing this expression a dozen times — on trains, in banks, in coffee-shops, in the office.

Contrary, too, to the claim that the 'major stumbling-block for any

Westerner learning Japanese is pronunciation', Japanese pronunciation is not very difficult For one thing, there are no diphthongs and only five invariable vowel sounds The journalist, in fact, did not really believe the assertion, since it was used merely to set up the statement that the words for 'bird, toilet and Tokyo University all sound the same', which may not be without its humour for those not in a position to know otherwise.

The words in question are *tori* (pronounced 'torry'), presumably *toire* (pronounced 'toy-rey') and *To-Dai* (pronounced 'Toe-Dye')

Japanese, like many other languages, has several words of identical, or nearly identical, sounds with different meanings, an oft-cited example being *hashi,* which can mean chopsticks, bridge and edge or border. But just as with the English 'right', 'write', 'rite' and 'wright', the meaning is invariably clear from context, and when written there is never any possibility of confusion

Hiragana, one of three component scripts in Japanese, is not, as the journalist contended, used only by young children, though it is the first aspect of their written language which young Japanese learn *Hiragana* is in fact a phonetic syllabary, used by all Japanese Since it is used to write verb and adjective endings, post-positions and conjunctions, a Japanese sentence cannot be written without it

Journalists are — or should be — informers Many doubtless would prefer to be writers of fiction, and perhaps fancy themselves as such. There is an art, minor but admirable, in not compounding the two, and it is one in which, in the field of British journalism on Japan, one could wish for more practitioners Meanwhile, we look in vain for an article conveying that sense of wholesome fun which is such a pervasive element in Japanese society, or one suggesting in what ways the British could learn from the Japanese.

[Anthony Head lives in Japan and works for Kyodo News Service and *The Japan Times* Publications include articles in *The Powys Review, English, Art & Artists, High Life, Executive World* and *The Review of the Anglo-Japanese Economic Institute*]

APPRAISING WOMEN MANAGERS

by Roger Bennett

ORTHODOX management development programmes — so critics allege — discriminate against women either through recruitment and training procedures that cater only for male lifestyles or — more subtly — through intangible barriers which block women's chances of promotion after they have been trained It is an incontrovertible fact that the overwhelming majority of senior managers are male; and men, of course, will evaluate the performances of female subordinates from essentially masculine points of view Men, it is frequently argued benefit through participating in informal (male dominated) communications groups and networks which nurture their talents and offer support and comfort when things go wrong Certain attitudes, and perhaps prejudices, towards women in management will inevitably be formed during these early years, and as men achieve promotion they will carry these attitudes with them into senior management positions where they will be called upon to appraise the performances of junior staff Thus, masculine values, norms and perspectives will be applied in evaluating the qualities of female subordinates Male superiors, moreover, might document and interpret the behaviour of female juniors in inappropriate ways

The term 'performance appraisal' describes the systematic analysis of a manager's past successes and failures, personal strengths and weaknesses, and his or her suitability for further training or promotion It can determine an employee's annual pay rise, and is often used to structure an individual's immediate future career. Any plausible explanation of why so few women are promoted must address seriously the question of whether male superiors appraising women subordinates bring to their evaluations inappropriate masculine interpretations of female characteristics, aptitudes, and abilities for managerial work Women's performances are appraised from masculine perspectives: hence, a desirable trait identified in a man might be considered undesirable in a woman. Frequent loss of temper, for example, could be interpreted in a man as positive assertiveness, in a woman as inability to cope with stress.

The basic problem is that male assessors might value in women certain characteristics — supportiveness, overt sexuality, maternalism etc — that are not only irrelevant to most management jobs but which also influence men's interpretations of observed female behaviour. To the extent that a man perceives women to possess innate strengths and weaknesses which are fundamentally different from those found in men he may well apply double standards in his evaluations A man who considers women to be 'emotional', for example, will tend to notice emotional aspects of a woman's behaviour while ignoring it in men

Male prejudices — attitudes that predispose men to perceive women in unfavourable ways — are easily formed After all, most male senior managers have wives who cook and clean for them, and secretaries who

type their letters and make their tea Women, therefore, are encountered predominantly in contexts where they are not expected to exert initiative or assume responsibility Add to this the continuous stereotyping of women as dependent, narcissistic creatures, devoted entirely to attracting and caring for men, typical of television advertisements and tabloid newspapers and it is not surprising that so many male senior managers have difficulty in accepting the concept of female occupancy of significant leadership positions And, once established, prejudices feed on themselves Women do generally earn less than men, they do undertake most of the housework, they are employed mainly in low status jobs The prejudiced mind will interpret these indisputable facts to mean that the validity of the initial biased opinions has been proved beyond doubt, since objective realities are entirely consistent with predictions implicit in the original prejudice

Male critics — observing that few women occupy senior positions — might therefore conclude that the conflicting demands of career and motherhood are intrinsically incompatible, and that women actually choose less demanding work that does not interfere too much with home and family Thus, they could argue, women lack commitment to managerial careers, they are less motivated towards occupational achievement, and are easily satisfied by low status jobs Lack of confidence in a woman manager's career commitment may cause male appraisers to interpret femininity in manner as incompatible with suitability for management work, because femininity — according to this view — is associated with perceptions of 'innate' female characteristics (excessive concern with domestic issues questionable loyalty to the corporation etc) that are thought to make women inappropriate candidates for a senior management post In consequence, women who are not 'feminine' will gain favour in the prejudiced male appraiser's eyes Obviously, a man who believes (perhaps unconsciously) that women are not suitable for senior management will be impressed by females who do not behave in feminine ways The male superior will admire and promote those of his female subordinates who behave as if they were men Conversely, 'female' females will be steered towards areas regarded as suitable (i e less demanding) for women — personnel or welfare work for example Typically however, these occupations offer few opportunities for advancement through line management

Performance appraisal differs from the casual, ad hoc, judgements that senior managers continually make about their subordinates in that it is formal, subordinates know they are being appraised, and the criteria (notionally) applied is stated in advance Women managers often complain, however, that male assessors sometimes alter their perceptions of female subordinates' activities to correspond with preconceived stereotypes of how women behave In particular the 'softer' management styles adopted by many women can be interpreted — in comparison with male workmates — as unassertive and lacking initiative and without doubt the reserved, unobtrusive, approach to leadership (highly effective in

certain circumstances) has caused some women to be categorised as uncommunicative and introverted In consequence, their successes might wrongly be attibuted to the influences of overtly visible male colleagues Conversely, the modest, unassuming woman will find that she carries all the blame when things go wrong — if her subordinates fail she is assumed to be at fault, if her own superiors perform inadequately she is still held responsible for the problems that result Too often, male superiors see men's successes as due to innate ability, while women's achievements are attributed to chance Anxieties resulting from constant fear of unfair criticism by male superiors can cause women appraisees to react in openly hostile ways Then of course they are said to carry chips on their shoulders Alternatively, appraisees might withdraw into themselves — and then be accused of not being able to handle male aggression and of being too introverted for management work Again, the male superior may argue that the promotion of females would upset existing (male dominated) managerial hierarchies — that valued male employees would resent being subordinate to or even working alongside a woman Appraisers, inevitably, will be influenced by male colleagues who support norms of prejudice and discrimination, who dislike the inference that their work can be done by a female Indeed, the business community generally (suppliers, customers, trade associations etc) might be assumed by the prejudiced male to disapprove of firms 'dominated' by women

All these pressures encourage male superiors to perceive selectively aspects of female subordinates' behaviour that correspond with initial prejudices A man who believes that certain undesirable traits — emotionality, inconsistency, illogicality, lack of commitment etc — are common in women will observe and record incidents in a woman's performance of her duties which confirm these suppositions, while not noticing other incidents that contradict his preconceived ideas Thus, women subordinates' actual behaviour — viewed through prejudiced eyes — supports, even reinforces the original bias Unfortunate events in a woman's career are recorded, occasional mishaps that happen to a man are ignored, or, if serious, soon forgotten

Arguably, it is not appropriate for men to interpret and grade women's qualities of initiatives, assertiveness, self-confidence, leadership ability etc because men and women approach these facets of personality in different ways, and even a male manager who is not inherently biased will experience difficulty in empathising with the softer, more persuasive, management styles that many women apply Moreover, women appraisees are often older than male colleagues of equivalent rank and their role as child-bearer will have resulted in career interruptions preventing them from undertaking formal management training and planned experience programmes at the same times as male contemporaries Yet, when seeking promotion women must evaluate, explain, and justify their performances against male norms and standards, to male assessors; in assessment procedures designed for men Women appraisees might therefore be expected (unreasonably) to have achieved occupational successes equiva-

lent to those expected of men of their own age

Simply through being in a position to apply for promotion the woman manager is untypical of her sex She is not the cook/housewife/seductress perpetually displayed in the television advertisement and page three tabloid newspaper, nor does she perform menial tasks She is, in short, 'unfeminine' within the context of male norms, and this perceived unfemininity can lead to discriminatory behaviour in male seniors It follows that female participation in the formulation of appraisal procedures is required: but there simply are not enough women in senior management positions to undertake this work So what can be done — now — to stimulate change? Three possible approaches to a solution may be discerned: more training, Codes of Practice, and accelerated promotion schemes.

Appraisers are usually attracted to people who are like themselves Males, therefore have an immediate advantage in being able to copy the ambiences, personas and characteristics of male superiors Women who naively ape masculine behaviour will at best appear slightly odd, at worst make utter fools of themselves Perhaps, therefore, women managers should be trained (through short courses, seminars or distance learning packages) consciously to restrain and regulate outward manifestations of femininity that would fulfil male superiors' negative stereotypes of female executives The woman manager must never appear emotional or unable to accommodate stress, she must always act confidently — even in the face of low expectations of her abilities; she must learn to dress in sexually amorphous ways (not for women the uniform anonymity of the male business suit), and generally conform to masculine models of the business world. A cognitively aware woman manager can, if she is lucky, emulate and fit into existing male value systems without sacrificing her fundamental identity as a woman But there are hardly any facilities available for this type of management training A few specially designed 'women in management' courses exist, but none of them — to the best of my knowledge — take seriously the practical implications of sexism in performance appraisals And most management training is in-house anyway More importantly, extra training fails to confront prejudice at its source it will make women aware of its existence, but the prejudice itself remains A patronising male superior who deliberately avoids delegating to women subordinates the sort of work they need to experience to equip themselves for promotion will not alter his ways simply because his female juniors have been trained to recognise his prejudiced views

Responsible employers could devise and implement Codes of Practice — with rules, guidelines, and examples of what should and should not be done — to regulate the career development of female staff Concomitantly, precise, accurate and objective definitions of the personality characteristics and managerial skills required for each senior post in the organisation might be attempted Confusing, subjective and inappropriate appraisal criteria can be identified and (hopefully) eliminated A Code of Practice would insist that only demonstrably relevant performance

factors be discussed in appraisal interviews Unfortunately, however, Codes of Practice do not actually prevent biased assessors from applying inappropriate appraisal criteria: irrelevant matters might be considered even though they are not openly discussed A Code of Practice could be adhered to rigidly yet still allow prejudiced subjective opinions to affect outcomes, as for example when quantitative targets have not been realised and appraisers evaluate subordinates' excuses for having failed Women who do achieve promotion, moreover, may find that despite overcoming prejudice from superiors in one grade, they immediately encounter whole new sets of biases in colleagues and superiors at higher levels.

Ultimately, the problem will be solved only when equal numbers of men and women occupy senior management posts Until then, a third — more radical — approach is needed Women managers should be put onto separate promotion systems where advancement occurs automatically; as of right Senior management would be required to justify *not* promoting female subordinates right up to the highest levels within their organisations The efficient woman could then expect promotion not as a privilege, but as a matter of course

Already, there exist in industry and commerce management development programmes which offer accelerated advancement to successful trainees; and there is no reason in principle why women too should not enjoy the benefits of this type of scheme True, it would discriminate against male colleagues; but so do existing (male dominated) accelerated promotion systems in respect of non-participants Frankly, the barriers confronting women are so enormous that realistically only direct positive discrimination will ever succeed in achieving change There must, of course, be provision for demoting women who perform badly in higher grade jobs, but then existing management would have to offer incontrovertible evidence backing up its decisions, and there would be comprehensive facilities for complaint and appeal

Appraisal processes become, in such circumstances, vehicles for coaching and developing the female employee In effect, managements become accountable to their female subordinates for providing them with the training and planned experience they need Eventually, there will be enough women in senior positions — themselves conducting appraisals — to enable the scheme to be dropped

Firms offering guaranteed promotion will undoubtedly attract the highest calibre of female management trainee It is unlikely that male managers will suffer career blockages in large organisations (the system could only work properly in big firms) since initially only a few women would be involved As soon as this happens, then, by definition, the scheme has achieved its objectives and can be withdrawn Smaller firms will be encouraged to treat their female managers better through fear of losing them to larger companies which offer automatic promotion Eventually, men and women will compete for senior positions on genuinely equal terms

FOREIGN INTERJECTIONS — 'DRAWINGS IN ENGLAND FROM HILLIARD TO HOGARTH'

by Muriel Julius

HOW many thousands of visitors to the British Museum have I wonder, like myself, walked by cases of illuminated manuscripts, climbed stairs, crossed corridors, passed marvels of ancient artifacts to arrive, finally, in the Prints and Drawings Gallery on the fifth floor.

Drawings are important for more than their artistic content They are the artists' own statements of intentions The painters who flocked to England in the seventeenth century introduced a new artistic language. Dr Christopher White, Director of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, together with M/s Lindsay Stainton, Assistant Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, have written an exemplary catalogue to accompany the recently mounted exhibition at the British Museum 'Drawing in England from Hilliard to Hogarth' as well as making the selection

Elizabeth I was notably unimpressed by the visual arts Jewels and clothes — at her death she possessed three hundred dresses — were her interests and the miniatures painted by Nicholas Hilliard were jewel-like When James I succeeded to the throne in 1603 he too was indifferent; but now there was a Queen, Anne of Denmark, who was passionately interested in the arts, in building, paintings, gardens and theatrical entertainments; and she had two sons and a marriageable daughter Her eldest son, Henry, Prince of Wales, was an outstanding art lover At eighteen he had his own establishment Aided by the enlightened Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel, and Inigo Jones, his Master of Works, he created a brilliant court decorated with paintings by Netherlandish, Venetian and Sienese masters, and the sculptures of Gianbologna Attached to his household was Henry Peacham, a tutor, and the first Englishman to publish, in 1606, a treatise on 'The Art of Drawing with the Pen'

Prince Henry died tragically young, but his tastes were shared by his brother, the future Charles I He was the first monarch to collect drawings seriously Even more important he persuaded Peter Paul Rubens to work in England, and his most gifted assistant, Anthony Van Dyck, to live here Their influence on English art was immense The Baroque had arrived.

The two most dominating portrait drawings in the recent exhibition are by Rubens Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne (No 29) — a massive figure with a fine head, greying hair and beard and all-seeing but kindly eyes A French Huguenot, born in Mayerne near Geneva, he was physician to the French King, Henry IV, a position he held with James I and Charles I after he settled in England in 1611 His interest in the chemistry of pigments resulted in a treatise recording recipes for colours and varnishes and instructions for painting and etching His ideas are

valuable because he had discussed them with both Rubens and Van Dyck A quaint information culled from the catalogue reveals that Turquet's recipe for oil for the coronation of a monarch is used to this day

The other Rubens is a sketch for his portrait of the 2nd Earl of Arundel that now dominates the Rubens Room in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston The nobility and assurance of the sitter is enhanced by the armour he wears It was during a tour of Italy that Arundel purchased over three hundred Leonardo da Vinci drawings that are one of the great glories of the Royal Collections today Perhaps Dr White included this drawing because of the collection of Arundel antique sculptures, admired by Rubens himself? Years after being buried under builder's rubble they were rediscovered, recognised, and can be seen at the Ashmolean Museum

The Duke of Devonshire and the Trustees of The Chatsworth Settlement have loaned eighteen drawings by Inigo Jones. Again, one is enchanted by the elaborate and revealing costumes he created for the lavish Royal masques performed in the Banqueting Hall in Whitehall which he had had built, and by his scenery designs for them that incorporated ingenious transformations and revolves

In an exhibition at the Palazzo Grassi in Venice this June, devoted to the work of Archimboldo, the rare sixteenth century Milanese painter of fantastic heads composed entirely of fruit, flowers or fish, I saw a large series of costume designs created for the Court entertainments of the Hapsburgs They had a marked affinity to those of Inigo Jones

A rarity is Jones's drawing of the catafalque for the funeral of James I (No 27). Considered lavish at the time it was modest in comparison with Grinling Gibbons' design, seventy years later, for an unrealized Monument to King William III and Queen Mary (No 154)

Another Huguenot who fled to England was Isaac Oliver. Trained as a goldsmith, he painted miniatures for Elizabeth, Anne of Denmark and Charles I His miniature portrait of Robert Deveraux, 2nd Earl of Essex, is strikingly alive. This was the man who supplanted Raleigh as Elizabeth's favourite, was the hero of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, but who made a fatal error that cost him his head

A larger drawing by Oliver is an unexpectedly animated drawing of nudes, 'Nymphs and Satyrs' (No 4) Quite untypical of its period the catalogue tells us they are 'sporting with wanton abandon in a woodland setting'. Charles I, Charles II and James II all owned this drawing and it was lent to this exhibition by Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II One wonders where and if the Queen displays this pastoral frolic

The painting of Old London Bridge by Claude de Jongh who came here from Utrecht is familiar to many who have visited Lord Iveagh's beautiful Adam house at Kenwood. Larger and more detailed is the drawing for this painting (No 60) Strange that this bridge, long since gone, once had houses along its length, much as has the bridge that spans the River Arno in Florence

One is grateful to such artists for allowing us to learn a little of what

cities and landscape were like before time and destructive forces changed them Many foreign topographical artists worked in England in the seventeenth century The most distinguished of them was Wenceslas Hollar, born in Prague The Earl of Arundel met him in Cologne and brought him to London From one of his drawings one learns that before the Great Fire of 1666 Southwark and Bermondsey was densely covered with dwellings (No 68) There are two very large views of Tangier (Nos 72/73) drawn in 1669 when it was a property of the British Crown Very clearly, they show the lie of the land and its relationship to the sea, and the placing of various buildings, fortifications and harbour installations In other words, military reconnaisance maps

Among his 2,800 known etchings Hollar made many of fur muffs There is only one known drawing (No 71) Two bands of fox fur divided by a band of patterned cloth. The catalogue suggests that these celebrated etchings indicate a fetishistic fascination, and there is something seductive in the effect of softness created in this tiny drawing I prefer to think Hollar was just testing his technical dexterity.

If Hollar was the most influential artist in the development of landscape painting, Anthony Van Dyck, born in Antwerp, had the greatest innovative influence on portraiture in England He introduced the vitality and luxury of the Baroque He glamorized Charles I and his Court as few monarchs have been glamorized before or since. Again his first patron was the Earl of Arundel We see his powerful image of the Earl seated, late in life (No 45)

Van Dyck executed a series of portraits of fellow-artists known as the Iconography Two are included That of Inigo Jones became the standard portrait of the architect The other is of Orazio Gentileschi, an accomplished painter from Pisa who settled in London with his daughter, also a painter, brought over by another great collector, the Duke of Buckingham

Both Charles II and James II shared their father's enthusiasm for the arts Charles II had spent his years of exile close to the magnificence of the French Court. On his Restoration in 1660 he created a civilized and brilliant Court but one which, according to the diarist, John Evelyn 'passed to luxury and intolerable expense'. It was the great country houses, ornate and splendid with suites of solid silver furniture and towering State beds that most accurately reflected the Royal taste No sumptuous interior was complete of course, without its family portraits in their richly carved frames The Dutchman, Peter Lely was already an established portrait painter owing much to Van Dyck's influence On being appointed Principal Painter to the King in 1661 he came into his own The many assistants he employed rather cynically turned out hundreds of portraits in the fashionable baroque style His series of 'Beauties' — the ladies of Charles II's Court — capture perfectly the sensual languor they chose to affect

Lely lived in considerable style himself Samuel Pepys remarked 'a mighty proud man he is, and full of state' He was the first painter in

England to build an important art collection At his death he owned 10,000 drawings. Those in his own hand are relatively few He is thought to have introduced the use of coloured chalks into drawings. An exquisite example is a portrait of an aristocratic little girl (No. 88) She looks about ten years old, ringlets frame her face, she has wistful brown eyes and a sweet pink mouth, gentle shoulders and a beautifully drawn hand. The effect is one of great tenderness

In contrast Lely's self portrait is exceedingly self-assured Half turned away he looks over his shoulder to regard us He is elegantly dressed in a loose silk doublet, and his sleeve reveals a billowing linen shirt.

Among the most impressive drawings in the exhibition are the large black chalk studies on blue paper of Figures from the Procession of the Order of the Garter on St George's Day (Nos 93-98). Thirty such drawings are known to exist. They are highly finished works which show the variety of personnages and costumes included in this great ceremonial.

Lely died in 1680 and for the next forty years portraiture in England was dominated by the German-born Godfrey Kneller Shortly after his arrival in England in 1676, his technical skills, learned in Holland and Italy, allied to supreme self-confidence established him as the most fashionable portraitist of the day His arrogance and conceit were legendary, provoking Alexander Pope and astonishing Horace Walpole Of the hundreds of documented portraits by Kneller many are careless and mechanical He kept a huge studio of assistants. At the British Museum his drawing of a young negro page (No 141) on blue paper, twin studies of the boy, side by side in the same pose, gives an impression of graceful movement His half-length drawing of Lebeck (No 145), the portly proprietor of a London tavern, is a well observed character study.

At this point, I imagine, if I asked a reader 'What about British Art in the seventeenth century?' the answer would be 'Is there any?'

There was some· Francis Place, for example, a friend and follower of Hollar, and the first Englishman to devote himself entirely to landscape. Three of his works are included (Nos. 148-150). There are seven works by Samuel Cooper, born in London in about 1608, and the greatest English miniature painter after Hilliard. He was as famous on the Continent as in England where both Pepys and the writer John Aubrey praised him His most beautiful known portrait drawing is of a young man, Thomas Alcock (No 74) Others are of King Charles II, his aunt, Mrs John Hoskins and a dead baby.

Another London-born artist was William Faithorne, born 1616, whose finely drawn portrait of John Aubrey, the author of *Brief Lives* is exhibited There is a self portrait of Richard Gibson, whose most important patrons were the 4th Earl of Pembroke and his family Gibson was a dwarf and became a page at the Court of Charles I. He married the Queen's dwarf He had many commissions and was a friend of Peter Lely who painted him. Two drawings (Nos 63 and 64) of a young girl and a woman are excellent

There is a revealing self-portrait by another Londoner, Isaac Fuller Lely apparently lamented his great fondness for alcohol It shows He painted religious pictures for the chapels of All Souls, Magdelen and Wadham College in Oxford

There is a self-portrait sketch of a timid young man, Peter Oliver, the elder son of Isaac Oliver, who carried on his father's WORK as a miniaturist very successfully.

Charles Beale, whose mother was a celebrated portrait painter in London, did a series of remarkably spontaneous informal drawings of the people he saw in his everyday life (Nos 169 on) They include one of Carter, the Colourman who supplied pigments to Mrs Beale, Mrs Carter, smoking a pipe, Susan Gill, the Beale's maidservant, a young girl in a chair and a young woman pouring coffee

Edward Luttrell's portrait of the notorious Judge Jeffreys of the Bloody Assize shows him to have been extremely handsome when young

Rarities include a watercolour study of waterfowl by Marmaduke Cradock (No 175) Only four drawings by this artist are known, of which the British Museum own three.

There is a small landscape drawing by Prince Rupert of the Rhine, who fought so gallantly for his uncle, Charles I in the Civil War He was instrumental in developing a mezzotint technique which enabled cheap reproductions to be made.

Francis Barlow, known chiefly for his depiction of idyllic country pursuits also produced playing card designs of political events (Nos 111-114) and a wicked satire 'The Joust' (No 110) which shows Louis XIV of France as a monkey riding a boar, attacking the Emperor Leopold I depicted as an ape riding a bear

It can be seen that immense innovations occurred in English art in the seventeenth century due to the internationalism of the artists who came from abroad, innovations repeated in America three centuries later.

With the emergence of William Hogarth, one of the most original talents in the annals of British art, whose outstanding gift was for political satire, everything changed The Age of Rococo emerged with the eighteenth century a new era would soon begin

Literary Supplement

POLITICAL PRELUDE TO THATCHERISM AND TO S.D.P.

Prime Minister, the Conduct of Policy Under Harold Wilson and James Callaghan Bernard Donoughue Cape £10 95

First a few words about the author and his background Grammar School and after a brilliant academic career at Oxford, Harvard and Washington and two considerable books, *Britain and the American Revolution* and an excellent biography of Herbert Morrison (which I reviewed in this Journal in 1973) He became Senior Lecturer in Politics at the London School of Economics From this post he was plucked in 1974 to be head of a new Downing Street *Policy Unit* In a word he became Senior Policy Adviser to Wilson 1974-76 and then stayed on with Callaghan until the Winter of Discontent 1979 Wilson gave him a Life Peerage in 1985 and after a short spell on *The Times* as assistant editor, he became a Director of Kleinwort Benson, the Merchant Bank

I am prompted to emphasize these few details about Lord Donoughue partly because the sensible advice given by him and his *Policy Unit* was too rarely converted into 'action this day', as for example on the sale of Council houses and I am tempted to suggest that the book and its author might be given an honour on Mrs Thatcher's birthday — or indeed on David Owen's

As an amateur political scientist but with experience of local and central government, I find that political scientists from Laski to Donoughue become obsessed with the machinery of government and the increasing power of Prime Ministers Donoughue, however, with a powerful team and an able civil servant assistant, conceived their task was to assist the government in their short term programme, economic and social, and to let the Think Tank (Control Policy Review Staff) deal with 'long term policy horizons' Although careful links were made with the Cabinet Secretary, Sir John Hunt and the Prime Minister's Principal Private Secretary, Sir Robert Armstrong, Donoughue's team of seven outstanding non-civil servants had also to keep in touch with Departmental Ministers It would appear that the small, efficient and non-hierarchial unit can work well if and when the Prime Minister knows how to pull the levers and operate the system But this is 'machinery of government' and Donoughue's team had to deal with Labour's political programme and outside forces like the I M F and rugged Trade Unions

The economic background of the whole Western world was affected by the steep rise of oil prices, this was a heavy burden on any government in the late seventies and must be considered alongside any general criticism Donoughue gives the impression that the *Policy Unit* on one occasion amended the wording of a Cabinet document to assist Healey in his difficult I M F negotiations secondly that the Unit advised a voluntary not a statutory Incomes Policy thirdly it advocated a National Housing Finance Corporation and a major extension of House ownership into the Council sector Finally, and this I remember, because of Callaghan's surprising speech at Ruskin College, Oxford on education

At Callaghan's suggestion and the Policy Unit warmly agreed to write a speech which was delivered in October 1976 Mr Callaghan called for a Great

Debate and the idea received a sympathetic response in the press and in the country generally He called for more attention to teaching the basic skills of literacy and numeracy, more accountability by teachers for standards and more resources for technical and vocational education and for mature students The book states 'the N U T was furious, the Department of Education was shocked' I cannot speak for either body, but I can say and said so at the time that the Green Paper was a pathetic response to Callaghan's bold initiative I remember writing to Shirley Williams, the Minister at the time, and receiving a poor reply

In some ways the book tells a melancholy story, because we are given the picture of a tired and bored Wilson and a tired but gallant Callaghan, failing to cope with events The book itself is slight but interspersed with some good writing and perceptive personal judgments It also contains illustrations, a curious medley of yesterday's politicians and recent resigners, Denis Healey, Peter Shore, Roy Jenkins, Marcia Falkender, Barbara Castle, Tony Benn and Shirley Williams But the book is also about the structure of government itself, so there is a picture of Sir Robert Armstrong and one of Lord Rothschild because he was head of the Think Tank — still then in existence, but abolished by Mrs Thatcher, who incidentally retained in altered form a Prime Minister's *Policy Unit*

KENNETH LINDSAY

HAS PACIFICISM A CASE TODAY?

Peace Together, A Vision of Christian Pacificism. Editor Clive Barrett James Clarke & Co £3 95

This book consists of seventeen essays The sincerity of the contributors is undoubted Some are well known, such as George Appleton, Bishop Baker of Salisbury, Lord Soper and Bruce Kent They write with different emphases, academic, spiritual, realist or with practical suggestions about international understanding, though it is difficult to put the final essay into a category The shape and content of the book are in the hands of the editor, Clive Barrett who writes an Introduction, a Conclusion and an essay entitled 'The Orthodoxy of Pacificism'

The title of the latter essay would seem to be question begging He quotes extensively from the Early Fathers who wrote at a time when Christians did not have responsibility for law and order, and for protecting a country He does not mention St Augustine of Hippo who founded the moral theology of war, nor Aquinas who systematised Augustine's teaching For centuries it was their tradition that was the orthodox one In Anglicanism it is expressed in Article 37 'Christianis licet ex mandato Magistratus, arma portare et iusta bella administrare'. (In the Book of Common Prayer 'iusta' has not been translated)

The important question is how far this orthodoxy of the past can be applied to the nuclear age Some would say that they do not apply at all as nuclear war would be total Others think that a State should possess a nuclear deterrent which alone prevents war Would it be right to put one's country at the mercy of a small State, or a large State with expansionist ideas and convinced that their way of life was the only one? And the domination would be irreversible as that State would be the sole nuclear power

These are not easy matters and cannot be decided by reference to single

proof texts So often moral decisions are reached through choosing the less evil or balancing opposites, as happens in the New Testament

It has to be said that in the past lasting and valuable civilisations have resulted from wars, but no one these days would elevate war into a positive good It is no doubt useful for there to be a group of dedicated pacifists to modify possible sabre rattlers This, however, is not the intention of the authors They wish to make the nation pacifist

LAURENCE TANNER

FATHER OF ALL THE YANKEES

Franklin of Philadelphia Professor Esmond Wright The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press £19 95, $25 00

After two hundred years Benjamin Franklin still has a high place in the American public consciousness He stares out from cereal boxes, banks, and 'five and dime' stores as a symbol of all that is good and simple In this superb biography, Professor Esmond Wright demonstrates that while Franklin may have been good (at least most of the time), he was never simple

This is more than just another biography of Franklin it is a portrait of a man and an interpretation of his age Esmond Wright has been fortunate in his subject There are few more fascinating men than Benjamin Franklin Here is a man born in obscurity in a colonial town, who by the dint of his hard work and inventive genius lifted himself into a world renowned figure The biographer is also fortunate because he has had access to the scholarly edition of Franklin's papers that is now winding its way towards conclusion These great editions of the papers of famous men, which are a speciality of American scholarship, have one danger The man can be buried under a mountain of his own papers and his editor's footnotes

Esmond Wright rescues Franklin from this danger Although he offers us several delightful excursions into Franklin's age (that on Paris is particularly enjoyable), we never lose tract of our subject The author wrote a shorter work on Franklin years ago and he has used the intervening years not just to amass more information but to reflect upon the man and his time

One of the most noteworthy parts of this book is the presentation of Franklin's attitudes towards that 'noble china vase, the British Empire' as he called it in that fatal year of 1776 Unlike many of the 'founding fathers', Franklin never had the restricted outlook of the provincial He had been born in Boston but achieved his fame as printer and inventor in Philadelphia. He spent many years in London where he was much happier than he had been at home

Esmond Wright was Director of the Institute of United States Studies at the University of London and therefore he has, like Franklin himself, a knowledge of both sides of the Atlantic His chapters on the evolution of Franklin's ideas of Empire are one of the finest introductions to the study of British and American history in the twenty years before the Revolution It is the type of elegant essay that is worth turning to not only when first interested in this important subject but years later when the mind seems weighed under with esoteric monographs Like Lawrence Gipson, Esmond Wright has used his knowledge and feeling for both sides in this unfortunate quarrel to present history in an attractive light.

Yet the book also has many enjoyable little respites from weighty topics. We learn what Franklin had for breakfast in France, we learn about his many houses in Philadelphia, London, and Paris and we see how his inventions, particularly the lightning rod, made him famous Finally the book concludes with a chapter that would be a most useful guide to other biographers Professor Wright does not leave us at Franklin's deathbed or at his graveside Instead he examines how his image has been treated by a variety of writers, English and American If in the future any other biographer of Franklin imitates this idea, he will need to give considerable attention to Esmond Wright

RICHARD MULLEN

ASSESSMENTS OF THE THIRD LORD SALISBURY

Salisbury The Man and his Policies Edited by Lord Blake and Hugh Cecil Macmillan Press £29 50

To the more discerning students of British political history, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, third Marquess of Salisbury, remains a fascinating character He was five times Queen Victoria's first minister He remains the United Kingdom's last noble Prime Minister With his academic stoop and bad eyesight he stands light-years away from our own tele-premiership It is said he would cross a London street to avoid meeting well-wishers one wonders how the 'ad men' could package him in today's political world

The best study of him remains the 'authorised' biography written by his daughter, Lady Gwendoline, and it is fitting that one of the essays in this collection is about her Lord Salisbury was, in the best sense of the term, an intellectual but not one who had lost the power of action As a pessimist he had little faith in 'the people' or in mankind as a whole and felt that reforming measures, if they did no real good, at least might be said to mitigate some evil 'I rank myself no higher in the scheme of things than a policeman' he once said, 'whose utility would disappear if there were no criminals ' He was there to serve, not to win fame, votes or popularity polls Not surprisingly his greatest work was done in the field of foreign relations

This present collection is ably edited by Lord Blake, Provost of The Queen's College, Oxford, a noted historian and biographer of Bonar Law and Benjamin Disraeli, and Hugh Cecil, a lecturer in history at the University of Leeds His biographical essay about Lady Gwendoline is a charming portrait, devoid of sentimentality and marked by that sharpness which she would have demanded He shows how for forty years the writing of the biography plagued her and how she laboriously collected material which she haphazardly digested and painstakingly compiled into a beautifully written book

In addition to Hugh Cecil's essay there is the Introduction by Lord Blake, a superb summation of Salisbury's position in history, and eight other essays All of these are well written and worth reading There are discussions on Lord Salisbury's term at the India Office with regard to India E D Steele, the essay's author, writes, 'Salisbury was a compassionate, not a sentimental man' and adds that this is a difference 'that some minds find obscure' There are essays on Lord Salisbury and the Tory party by Robert Stewart, Salisbury and foreign policy by A N Porter, Salisbury and the Tory Alliance with Liberal Unionists from 1886 by John France and Lord Salisbury and the Church, again by E D Steele which shows how his deep Christian faith influenced his public life There is, also, an essay by F M L Thompson which concerns the third Marquess not as Prime Minister but as landlord

Finally one should mention two other essays the editors have included, as their second essay, a contribution by J F A Mason, the Librarian of Christ Church, Oxford — Salisbury's own college and the home for twenty-five years of his letters and manuscripts Most historians come to know their subject by studying their 'papers' and one can learn a great deal about a man by reading what he wrote and seeing how he wrote and when and to whom and how often A librarian has a much greater chance than many who are rushed to get their work done in a short time Mr Mason's is a superb and incisive discussion of Salisbury as a working politician

The final essay which should be mentioned is by Lady Gwendoline herself Between 1906 and 1911 she wrote four essays or 'studies' to help her with her biography They were meant only for the family. In 1948, three years after her death, three of them were published in a limited edition of 120 The fourth essay, 'Lord Salisbury in Private Life' was not included and it is now available for the first time, edited by Hugh Cecil It is a superb example of Lady Gwendoline's style and gives us new insights one is tempted to quote the opening sentences as a conclusion to this review, 'Lord Salisbury had a great many interests in life but very few pleasures He was wont to say of himself that the only pleasure which he found entirely satisfying was that of sleep'

JAMES MUNSON

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS ASSESSED

Gerard Manley Hopkins The Critical Heritage Edited by Gerald Roberts Routledge & Kegan Paul £27 50

Of all writers, Hopkins is the ideal subject for the particular format of the valuable *Critical Heritage Series,* which documents the reception accorded to a writer by his contemporaries and near-contemporaries Since, as is well known, although he died in 1889 at the age of forty-four, his poetry was not published, other than in mainly obscure anthologies and periodicals, until 1918, there is a special piquancy about the way in which (since there must be a thinness of actual contemporary criticism) by the time it was open to criticism, it had entered the 'modern' arena and came to be judged against other 'difficult' poetry as if it were fresh-minted T S Eliot had published his first 'modernist' poems in 1915 Thus, ever more firmly, was Hopkins detached from his Victorian and Romantic setting, although, naturally, the extent to which he *was* of that tradition will always remain a fertile ground for discussion

All these especial circumstances are reflected in the critical extracts, some fugitive, covering the period 1877 (merely correspondence) to 1940, which Gerald Roberts has assembled to follow his acutely clear, fastidious and fair introductory essay

Hopkins' prose is not explicity under consideration Mr Roberts first shows how the confused reactions of Hopkins' correspondents support Laurence Binyon's opinion that, had the poems been exposed at the time of their writing, they would, 'if not wholly ignored' have been 'thought a deliberate outrage, and simply execrated.' Execration was still the reaction that Robert Bridges feared, as he gradually filtered his friend's poetry into the light, and Mr Roberts suggests the possibility that Bridges deliberately 'went out of his way to draw attention to the difficulties in order to anticipate and so soften the hostile reaction which he obviously expected' This attitude persisted in Bridges' famous Introduction to the first edition of *Poems* (1918) in which

Mr Roberts also notes that Bridge's 'prejudice' against Hopkins' religion probably narrowed his critical sympathies The reception of this first edition was ambivalent and discordant It was a Jesuit, Fr Geoffrey Bliss, Mr Roberts comments approvingly, who saw, unlike Bridges, how the last 'terrible' sonnets show the poet triumphing over despair This is still debatable, unless one takes the very act of their creation to be Fr Bliss's noble vanquishing

In spite of the early Modernist stirrings, readers were still not ready for Hopkins during the decade after the 1918 edition A striking exception was I A Richards' appreciative essay in the *Dial* in 1926, and he used the short poem, *Spring and Fall* as one of the test-pieces in *Practical Criticism* (1929) Thus the New Criticism, with its emphasis on personal sincerity and on going to the intention of the writer — downright essential in any profitable reading of Hopkins — notionally took over from Bridges the patronage of Hopkins Bridges himself, Mr Roberts observes, now became 'the critics' scapegoat for a despised and rejected cultural tradition' After I A Richards, Laura Riding, Robert Graves and William Empson secured the poet among the ideal writers of the new critical culture

The second edition of *Poems* (1930), edited by Charles Williams, heralded an explosion of interest in Hopkins F R Leavis in *New Bearings* (1932) had no difficulty in understanding the poetry, in a lively display of Practical Criticism During the decade 1930 to 1940, Hopkins' reputation grew to 'classic' status, and he was now unequivocally perceived as a modern, and a 'great liberating influence in English verse' (W J Turner, the Australian-born Georgian poet) C Day Lewis classified Hopkins as a 'naif' poet, an 'unconscious revolutionary' In 1935, the *Letters* were published, and knowledge and comprehension were greatly enhanced Humphrey House tackled the role of the Ignatian *Exercises*, and both Christopher Devlin and W H Gardner discussed the influence of Duns Scotus By 1940, Hopkins' religion increasingly interested readers It was seen that 'the highly distinctive style existed not for itself but to express significant experience ' The displaced poet, the exile from his times, was by now well launched in the mainstream of twentieth-century literature

MOLLY TIBBS

SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR

Simone de Beauvoir Claude Francis and Fernande Gontier Sidgwick and Jackson £15 00

In *The Prime of Life* and *Force of Circumstance* Simone de Beauvoir told her own story now there is a biography written by two trusted authors who have been allowed access to an unpublished correspondence consisting of 1,682 letters, another sort of autobiography which the writer herself handed over to them before her death Claude Francis and Fernande de Gontier had been well known to Simone de Beauvoir for more than ten years and so they knew much that has not been revealed elsewhere than in their account of her life The source book of her novels is contained in the letters, written between 1947 and 1960

No description of French intellectual life then is adequate without reference to Camus, Picasso, Genet and Giacometti But the central figure of the philosopher Jean Paul Sartre towered over them all in the daily life of the French intellectuals themselves who frequented the cafés, theatres and political meeting

places of St Germain de Près And the passionate relationship between the two philosophers, Simone de Beauvoir and Sartre, has left its mark on the twentieth century, especially because of the invention by Sartre of philosophical Existentialism and the radical feminist thinking of de Beauvoir She can perhaps fairly be called the first woman to assert women's rights in the sense in which those dues have later come to be understood in Europe and America

Both pioneers in their different ways, their mutual love and support for each other's causes have become a byword for cooperation in the modern world Simone de Beauvoir dominated feminist views throughout the world for fifty years although, retaining her principles where the marriage bond itself is concerned, she never intended to marry Sartre and they both believed in a sexual freedom rarely found in the early twenties and thirties in France or Europe generally License was not, however, in question, but only a rational belief in occasional separations even when these involved an infidelity which few partnerships could survive Many of the letters now quoted for the first time reveal how great was the strength of their attachment, based as it was not only on physical passion but also on political and philosophical radicalism (Sartre presented grave difficulties to French politicians)

The literary and political experiences through which Simone de Beauvoir lived, the people who were her friends, the journeys she made (to Africa, the USA, Central America, Russia and China) provide rich and gripping material for the present well-researched biography Her range as a novelist was wide but home-based, for she showed in her first famous novel, *The Mandarins*, an easy and experienced grasp of French university life This theme, with excursions into bourgeois domesticity to provide its contrasting *milieu*, is endemic to all her fiction The justification for a biography of considerable length to have been translated into English is the far-reaching influence and fame of her writing, both autobiographical and fictional She is established in European literature as much for her stylistic grace as for her political radicalism

In spite of the difficulty of assembling so much new material and not repeating already well-documented facts, the two authors of the biography have successfully presented a meticulous and precise picture of one whose mark on her times is likely to remain deep and lasting BETTY ABEL

SHORTER REVIEWS

Mothers in the Fatherland (Jonathan Cape £18 00) 'Women, the Family and Nazi politics' is the subtitle of this substantial study by Professor Claudia Koonz on the role and outlook of women in the twelve years of Hitler's Germany, 1933-1945 She has carried out a great deal of research among private and official documents and interviewed surviving witnesses of that period Among the latter is Gertrude Scholyz-Klink, who was the official leader of German women during these years The latter were deprived of any recognised part in the formulation of Nazi policy. They were second class citizens limited to domestic and family roles, including particularly the production of children At the same time they were obliged to support Nazi ideology From the author's study, it appears that women in great numbers welcomed the Nazi regime in 1933 and that many persevered as keen Nazis until the bitter end Nonetheless 'other women, as victims and resisters, risked their lives to ensure Nazi defeat and preserve their own ideals' There are separate chapters on Protestant,

Catholic and Jewish women. It appears that many Christians were seduced by Nazi doctrine to try and reconcile it with Christian belief Further among Catholics the Vatican Concordat of 1933 made their position particularly difficult Under the Agreement Hitler swore to defend Catholic rights outside politics and the Vatican undertook to support the Hitler regime Not unexpectedly Hitler ignored his obligations under it Professor Koonz pays much attention to the appalling treatment of Jewish women as well as men, their isolation from the rest of the community, the concentration camps and murder in the gas chambers Most Aryan women must have known at least something of these atrocities, but unable to change the course of events This is a harrowing book, in which the author shows objectivity and insight, without concealing her intense dislike of the regime and all its works.

A Girdle Round the Earth (Constable £12 95) Maria Aitken has produced a delightful study on 'adventuresses abroad', supported by excellent illustrations Based upon much research into memoirs, diaries and letters, her selection of women travellers is 'based mainly on affinity'. There are, of course, the pioneering travellers and explorers of the nineteenth century, but she covers a much wider field from imperial governesses to women aviators She looks to the peculiar characteristics of her travellers and expatriates. Some 'quirkily revealing incident which has caught my eye' adds to the interest On the other hand, sometimes she may miss out on the basic importance of her subject's life work. For example, she is more concerned with Gertrude Bell as mountaineer than with her work and achievement in the Middle East upon which her reputation and fame mainly depend The author divides her 'adventuresses' into different categories, by chapters, namely Climbers, Actresses Djvas and Dancers, Missionaries, Huntresses, Governesses, Memsahibs, Masqueraders and Aviatresses All in all it is a fascinating book to read and enjoy

All God's Children Need Travelling Shoes (Virago Press £3 95) This is the fifth volume of the autobiography of Maya Angelou, a black American, well known in the United States as singer, actress, writer of poetry and prose, and civil rights activist It describes a visit to Ghana where she hoped to settle permanently Her fondness of her son who survived an almost fatal accident, supplies a background to the book The reader is carried along with humour and pathos from scene to scene at a sometimes breathless pace A striking picture is given of a post colonial country with its self-confidence and inequalities. In spite of friendship and a love affair she was to discover a suspicion of black Americans Ghana, perhaps suspicious of patronage, was interested in developing the country with its own people and in honouring President Nkrumah It could no longer for her be thought of as home Her expectations were disappointed and she returned to the United States

(L E T)

The Everyman History of English Literature (Dent. £7 95) Peter Conrad's one volume historical study was very well received when first published in 1985, and this paperback edition of more than 700 pages will be welcomed It covers the twelve hundred years from Beowolf to the present time and is both erudite and thought provoking The underlying theme is continuity, 'Literature seems to me a collaborative — almost a familial — activity, marrying the past with the present and from that union generating the future '

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SOUTH AFRICA: THE CONTINUING CASE AGAINST SANCTIONS

by M. J. McGetrick

IN the light of the recent sanctions and disinvestment campaign initiated against South Africa it was, perhaps, inevitable that the outcome of the recently held whites-only South African General Election should reflect a sharp swing to the right.

The ruling National Party increased its parliamentary representation in the white House of Assembly at the expense of mainly English-speaking support for the liberal Progressive Federal Party At the same time, the Conservative Party under the leadership of Dr. Andries Treurnicht, a former chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond — also known as Dr. No for his rejection in 1982 of planned National Party reforms and his subsequent defection from the Nationalists to form the Conservative Party — secured massive support, taking 26% of the votes The new House of Assembly consists of 123 Nationalists, 22 Conservatives and 19 Progressives Also, a seat each for the New Republic Party (alliance partner to the Progressive Federal Party in the election), and the independent candidate for the Transvaal constituency of Randburg, Mr. Wynand Malan The loss of 6 seats by the Progressive Federal Party to the National Party has ensured its replacement as the Official Opposition by the Conservative Party For the first time since they secured power in 1948 on the apartheid ticket, the National Party confronts an official opposition to its right The implications are clear; the scope for further reform is likely to be restricted in the foreseeable future, with the colour of parliamentary debate changing from reform-minded to security-minded issues.

The current mood, however, belies the significant reform that has taken place in the past few years. Since Botha came to power, virtually all job reservation has been abolished, black trade unions have been legalised, central business districts opened to all races, and segregation in most public places abolished South Africa has witnessed the scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act (prohibiting extra-marital sex across the colour line), and the Political Interference Act (forbidding political activity across the colour line). Government has abandoned the policy of pursuing independence for the homelands (national states) unless they themselves desire it, forced removals have been suspended, and the permanency of blacks in 'white' South Africa has been recognised Last, but by no means least, influx control and the

pass-laws have been discontinued. The only pillars of apartheid remaining on the statute book are the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act.

It must be emphasised that all of the above reform was enacted before the United States Congress imposed a package of sanctions against South Africa towards the latter part of 1986 Against this background, and of the continuing unrest in the black townships, it is easy to understand the emergence of right-wing sentiment amongst the white electorate. A reactionary stance has been fuelled by white fear Although white fear has always played a role in white politics, for instance the notions of total onslaught and *swart gevaar* (black threat), the present climate has nourished these fears to peak levels The threat to the economy posed by comprehensive economic sanctions is responsible for a significant part of this fear However, fear of an endangered economy does not promote reform, it retards it.

The world probably underestimates the desire for most whites to share power equitably with fellow South Africans of other races Indeed, opinion polls conducted by South African newspapers have consistently shown white electorate thinking to be ahead of government in reform issues However, the broadening of democracy in South Africa requires sufficient economic growth to meet the demands of a future enfranchised black majority Whites will resist change if sharing of the national cake results in a substantial erosion of first world standards Rather, the economy should grow at such a rate that the third world sector is systematically raised to first world level

One should not underestimate the massive expansion the South African economy requires to facilitate reform and constitutional change A popularly held view is that the world's largest exporter of gold is a country of virtually unlimited financial resources; scrap apartheid and white-minority rule, and black inequality and poverty will be ended Consider, for example, the question of implementing equal education for all races, a policy to which the Government is committed At secondary and primary levels the disparity in per capita spending is roughly 7 to 1 (parity has effectively been achieved at tertiary level) If it were possible to implement equal education overnight — in reality impossible because of the huge programme needed to upgrade black teaching qualifications, and salaries account for the major part of expenditure — the education vote would approach 50% of present government spending (compared with about 15% in most European countries), and this for a government that already consumes around 40% of the national economy Such expenditure would place an extremely high burden on the economy and substantially damage the wealth-creating sector in a country where less than 3% of the economically active population is entrepreneurial (compared with a world-wide average of 10%)

Might it not, perhaps, be possible to fund this education vote by a transfer of all monies currently spent on the maintenance of apartheid? It is estimated that all apartheid expenditure accounts for around one-fifth

of the national budget. Half of this might be termed constructive expenditure, roughly R3 billion spent on development aid to the national states and independent homelands. In post-apartheid South Africa it would be difficult to terminate this type of expenditure This leaves another R3 billion available for alternative use, hardly enough to cover the extra R10 billion required to finance education parity Clearly, economic development is a necessary condition for the encouragement of meaningful reform

Besides, economic growth undermines apartheid in a very natural way. A rapidly expanding industrial base requires an abundant pool of labour The restriction of black migration to white urban areas has the effect of pushing up labour costs, thus inflating the prices that must be paid by the white consumer. In reality, rapid economic development in the urban areas act as a powerful magnetic force, attracting large numbers of homeland blacks to the cities. Past experience has shown that in boom-time conditions the 'reaction' force of influx control has been unable to contain this migration. Former cabinet minister Dr. Piet Koornhof, recently appointed as South African Ambassador to Washington, stated before the lifting of influx control that 40% of the black urban population in Cape Town was illegal. Government has attempted to promote jobs in the homelands through its economic decentralisation policy. However, the South African Free Market Foundation has estimated that the cost of creating a decentralised job is between 2 to 5 times higher than that of its equivalent in an urban area Inevitably, market forces have guided new industry to existing areas of economic activity, reinforcing the magnetism of these regions.

Which leads us back to the question of sanctions The expressed aim of the sanctions campaign is to effect a speedy demise of apartheid, and most sanctioneers would probably have a time scale in mind of 2 to 3 years How viable is this assumption? Consider what might be termed a worst-case scenario; a total ban on all sales of South African gold. GDP would be immediately slashed by 10% causing a shortfall in receipts to the government of around R8 billion. Government would be in difficulties but, nonetheless, have various options For instance, it might terminate all payments to the homelands, suspend international debt repayments, and trim remaining government spending across the board by 10%. The ending of gold mine activity would harm secondary industry, reducing GDP still further Many hundreds of thousands of blacks would be made redundant. With the emergence of a military government, spending priorities would change Countless numbers of blacks would be removed from the cities to the homelands with a ferocity never before witnessed in South Africa, after all, if the penniless Marxist government in Ethiopia can resettle hundreds of thousands of its citizens, then so could the rulers of a heavily bruised, yet viable South African economy A siege economy would materialise and natural resources — of which there are plenty — would be exploited for survival, if not for profit White South Africa would be weakened, but black South Africa would be devastated. The

international community would be implicated in a crime against humanity of massive proportions; thousands, possibly millions of people would starve in the homelands. A hungry and defenceless black population would be no match for a mightily armed and repressive regime.

All that would remain to be enacted in this tragic scenario would be the passage of time in which numbers become mightier than guns; the period in which a shrinking white population, no matter how technologically advanced, can no longer dominate the majority How long would this take? It is hard to tell Perhaps one can hazard a guess by studying the independence struggle in Zimbabwe Colonial domination eventually succumbed with a white population of around 4% A similar outcome in South Africa would suggest a fall from power in around 80 years time Who knows, given her superior resources and industrial infrastructure, the white regime could survive longer There again, maybe not. What is certain, however, is that in a climate of sanctions white domination and apartheid could persist for decades rather than years Hardly the scenario cherished by the sanctioneers

The above account provides some indication of the futility and folly of sanctions Already there are signs that the limited package of sanctions currently in existence is not yielding expected results Companies pulling out, such as IBM and Coca-Cola, are selling their shares at bargain prices to local businesses Even the hugely successful campaign by the Anti-Apartheid Movement to oust Barclays from South Africa has done no more than change the name of the bank to First National, and to confer full ownership into South African hands Business is doing very nicely The sanctions campaign has fired an initiative towards import substitution, reminiscent of the development of the huge armaments industry, spearheaded by Armscor, when an arms embargo was applied a decade or so ago

There is some sign that a more constructive attitude towards the problems of South Africa is emerging There is talk in Western circles of a Marshall Aid plan, the West to pour in hundreds of millions of dollars for projects such as education, black housing and township development, as incentive for further reform South Africa is but a microcosm of the global community, reflecting its cultural diversity and wealth disparity To assist South Africa cross its Rubicon, international punishment and ostracism must be subtituted by assistance and understanding Under such conditions will South Africa return, highly respected, into the fold of the family of nations

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GLASNOST: COMMUNICATIONS AND THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM

by Ronald J. Hill

IT is commonplace to observe that the world has in the past twenty years been living through a communications revolution, accompanied by an associated 'information explosion' The two processes are distinct but closely linked, and they have a common effect in making the world appear a much smaller place This trend has implications both for individuals and for states, and in this article I am particularly concerned to explore how it affects communist systems

This revolution embraces the whole gamut of forms of communication. It began two centuries ago, with the development of canals in Western Europe, followed in the last century by the invention of the telegraph, steam ships, and the railways, and has been continued in our times by the rapid expansion of car ownership and the accompanying proliferation of national and international road networks Developments in aviation have made it economically possible for millions of world citizens to travel great distances, either as visitors or as migrants, and to do so with no more trauma than was involved in moving to the nearest city two centuries ago indeed, the risk of a hi-jacking is the modern equivalent of an ambush by highwaymen

In the field of non-travel communication, technical advances in wireless transmission have enhanced even the humble telephone to the extent that it is now possible to dial direct to most areas of the globe Again, increases in personal wealth, together with further technical progress and new production techniques that have had profound economic impact, have brought receiving equipment — and transmission equipment, in the form of telephones and computer link-ups — within the grasp of ever larger numbers of world citizens Already, television transmission satellites are beaming programmes across the whole of Europe and other parts of the globe scholars in Britain, the United States and elsewhere can now receive Soviet television broadcasts virtually as easily as the Soviet public — indeed, more easily than in the more remote areas of that vast country. It is technically possible for a hovering satellite to be positioned over Moscow to broadcast programmes from the other side of the world — or even from beyond the earth For a number of years, American reconnaissance satellites have been able to listen to telephone conversations in the Soviet capital, and we must presume that the Soviet Union has a similar capability of monitoring our own private conversations, assisted by computers programmed to be triggered at particular combinations of sounds In short, the invention of the transistor, and more recently the silicon-chip microprocessor, and their application to the field of information processing and transmission, have transformed the world into what Marshall McLuhan called a 'global village', in which it is increasingly possible for everyone to feel they live near everyone else, and to know

everyone else's business

In the Cold War era, of course, the esoteric nature of modern spying has been given lots of publicity, and afforded opportunities for substantial fortunes to be made by those who possess the imagination to write novels about it What is less frequently considered, but is possibly of greater significance, is the political impact of the communications revolution

For much of the time, it seems, new inventions are introduced that have far-reaching implications for political life, and politicians limp along a number of paces behind, trying to close loopholes opened up by a new technology that was not even thought of when existing legislation was devised To take an example from Britain: the copyright laws, essentially devised to protect the printed word, are notoriously inadequate in the era of ubiquitous photocopying, not to mention the totally accurate copying of digitally recorded sound, or the instantaneous transfer of information on floppy disks or among networks of computers linked by data-transmission lines Intellectual property rights are proving harder and harder to protect as technology places the capacity to infringe them in the hands of many whose interest conflicts with respect for those rights

At the very least, these developments all make it more difficult for governments to ensure secrecy — quite apart from pressures that insist on 'the right to know' as an essential feature of democratic societies After all, it is argued, the principles of democracy imply the existence of rational citizens, capable of making political choices on the basis of full and accurate information about the issues The deep water in which the British government has found itself this year over the Peter Wright memoirs is sufficient to indicate some of the passions that become aroused when the citizen's right to know conflicts with the government's need to maintain secrecy over sensitive issues, and with the society's need to trust the integrity of its public servants.

The communist countries, so far, have been directly faced with few of these issues — at least, not in ways that have caused them much concern For the leaders of those regimes, censorship has always been regarded as a vital weapon in the task of 'bringing up communist man' The 'enemy' must not be given the opportunity to undermine the principles and gains of the socialist revolution, the people must be given an opportunity (in fact, be made to understand and accept) the 'scientific truths' of the ideology, in order to gain a 'correct' understanding of the world and their place in it This principle found its fullest expression in the 'brain-washing' techniques of re-education used in China in the 1950s. 'Pluralism' and the 'free play of political forces' have always been regarded as principles hostile to the purpose of 'building communism', and citizens must be protected from harmful, 'unscientific', alien ideas

That means censorship of all publication and broadcasting in order to remove offending ideas, while positive efforts at 'public enlightenment' — giving the rising generation the 'correct' attitudes, values and concepts — has been seen as equally vital Moreover, in the communist system the scope of the censorship was such as to exclude any information that might

possibly undermine public confidence Information on the leaders' health, on natural disasters such as floods and avalanches, or even on human-related failings such as train or air crashes, was excluded Statistical information, on which the population might judge the performance of government, was likewise suppressed or distorted· crime levels, mortality rates (when these showed an unexpected tendency to rise), the size of the harvest And, in contrast, the West's unemployment levels, strikes and instances of heavy-handed policing were stressed, while the benefits of the welfare state for the working classes were ignored

The obvious purpose of all this was to establish citizens' confidence in the communist system, while undermining the attractions of the ideological alternative

That was a central element in the political system devised by Stalin in the Soviet Union during the 1930s, when everything was subordinated to the task of building up heavy industry as rapidly as possible Moreover, Stalin was building on some of the principles already established by Lenin in the difficult early years after the revolution, when the infant Soviet regime was quite literally fighting for its existence against the White opposition forces in the face of a largely hostile world In other words, the ideas of censorship, and the banning of opposition parties and ultimately of strands of oppositional thought within the Bolshevik party itself, were all quite clearly of the Bolshevik period. No matter how much we may identify the precursors of censorship and thought control and lack of open political debate in the laws and practices of Tsarist Russia, the fact that they were imposed under Lenin makes them clearly a part of the communist (or socialist) system, and thereby gives them an official legitimacy they might not otherwise enjoy It is difficult to reject these particular aspects of Stalinism without at the same time undermining the inheritance from the founding father, Lenin.

Censorship, propaganda, control of the mass media, and attempts to control thoughts by the not-so-secret police therefore came to be seen as essential features of authentic 'socialism'— or 'real socialism', as it was called in the 1970s As such, it was deemed appropriate not only for the Soviet Union in the particular conditions of the 1930s, but for any country that was supposed to be 'building communism' In that guise it was adopted or imposed in the countries of Eastern Europe and Asia which acquired communist governments in the wake of the Second World War These features also became a central element of the 'totalitarian' model, and the system was classically caricatured by Orwell in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* In fact, this has become one of the touchstones for judging political regimes The insistence on the restoration of a free press in the Arias plan for Nicaragua is but one recent demonstration of its importance

A further political action or set of policies also made this principle work· the effective isolation of the communist-ruled world from outside influences In this light, the Iron Curtain was a logical development, and it had an obvious impact on the level of communication of every kind

between East and West — particularly from West to East propaganda flows in the opposite direction were largely unfettered, restricted mainly by the sheer lack of interest on the part of Western populations.

By the 1960s, however, it was becoming clear that such protective policies were counter-productive. Dissident Soviet writers such as Sakharov and Amalrik argued that, in restricting the free flow of information, particularly scientific information from the West, the Soviet Union was intellectually choking its scientists The facts were there for all to see Western science and technology were booming, whereas that of the Soviet Union and her allies was stagnating, notwithstanding some spectacular results in the military and space research fields

Domestically, the restrictions on information flows were known for decades to have undermined public confidence in the media, so that rumour — in Russia known as the OBS news agency *(Odna babushka skazala.* 'One old woman said') — took over Rumour, of course, is very difficult for governments to control, and can quickly get out of hand The absence of accurate information also made the task of planners increasingly difficult, since plans came in time to be based on wildly inaccurate depictions of the existing situation, and hence they were of decreasing utility in actually directing the economy

In any case, once a degree of relaxation began to take place, from the late 1950s, and simultaneously the populations of the communist world began to enjoy the benefits of radios and other modern devices — and even to travel to other countries, and to see increasing numbers of foreign tourists visiting their own cities — the effect of the severe restrictions on communication was swiftly undermined This enhanced the loss of confidence among the peoples of those countries in their own governments, and promoted an exaggerated view of the outside world as Solzhenitsyn remarked after he had been expelled from his native country, 'We worshipped the West'

No later than the mid-1960s, then, the Iron Curtain had become porous. Even if it had ever been achieved, given what the totalitarian theorists called 'islands of separateness' (the church, the family), it was no longer possible for communist governments to exercise full control over their citizens' minds Technical advances had rapidly amplified the effect of the political relaxation, and in ways that led to undesirable effects for the governments of those countries Far from ensuring that all citizens acquired negative views of 'capitalism' and very positive views of their own 'socialist' system, the 'unapproved' information that came flooding into the homes of millions of citizens in the communist world led to scepticism, and even downright cynicism

Official spokesmen began to point this out some fifteen years ago The Soviet political scientist, Georgi Shakhnazarov, for example, who was also a deputy head of a central committee department (in those days an adviser to Yuri Andropov, then a Central Committee secretary Shakhnazarov has been promoted under Gorbachev) argued in a popular book first published in 1972 that censorship did more harm than good. The

government, he went on, should publish every kind of information as a matter of course, apart from security-sensitive material Politicians should not be afraid to speak their mind honestly and openly, as the only way to restore public confidence in political institutions

This is the message which has now, after a decade and a half, become official policy in the Soviet Union, and which is being tentatively adopted by other communist-ruled countries It is seen as a crucial element in what the same Shakhnazarov recently called 'learning democracy', and, from Gorbachev's point of view, it is intended as a means of motivating the population to work harder — more effectively than the old methods of censored propaganda evidently succeeded in doing In particular, it is being used as a weapon against the complacent and incompetent entrenched members of the party and state bureaucracy, whose lives have been opened up to public criticism to an extent that goes beyond the cloistered existence of the civil services in many Western democracies.

The most immediate effect is to be seen in the mass media The Soviet press is far more lively than it has been for decades correspondents in Moscow almost complain about the amount of material that is now actually worth reading Suppressed statistics — on poor harvests, on mortality rates, for example — have been made available The existence of a drug problem has been acknowledged; delinquent gangs, some with clear political overtones, have been interviewed and written about in the press and interviewed on radio and television The war in Afghanistan has been reported with greater candour than it ever was before Gorbachev came to power. Unscripted interviews and phone-ins have become commonplace Joint ventures with Western broadcasters and film-makers have been mounted, and more are being planned The jamming of many Western radio stations — in any case somewhat patchy — has ceased

All of this must have the effect of undermining our traditional view of the communist system, because it changes the relationship between the rulers and the ruled Censorship has not been abolished yet it is applied with far greater latitude than the traditional model allowed for Citizens of communist countries, who in any case always impressed the Western visitor by the range of information they somehow managed to acquire, are becoming far better informed about the world, both within and beyond their country's borders An effective public opinion can therefore develop — one based on knowledge rather than ignorance, on information rather than rumour — which is thereby less easy to ignore The hope of those who support Gorbachev in this policy is that it will promote confidence in the public mind that it is not having the wool pulled over its eyes A political system that has been based on what Solzhenitsyn called 'the Big Lie' is now opening itself to scrutiny to a degree that could not have been dreamt of only a few years ago Western critics argued, perhaps plausibly, that scholars might be able to debate such theoretical issues at their conferences and in their heavyweight journals, but extending that to the wider public was considered quite impossible for the Stalinist system, which absolutely depended on the

suppression of the truth

Under Brezhnev (and Chernenko), of course, it certainly was quite impossible. But what is now clear is that it was not the system as such that prevented these things, but rather particular leaders Or was it? This whole new development raises important theoretical issues about political evolution which are well worth consideration If Gorbachev succeeds, and this level of *glasnost* becomes a regular feature of the Soviet Union and her allies, do we say that the system is still the same system? Or that it is now so different that it must properly be regarded as a different system?

There is here an underlying question of analytical method, and one that has been at the centre of Western arguments about communist systems In judging political systems, do we look at the institutions and regulations that set the framework for political activity: the institutions, the rules of procedure, the checks and balances, the role definitions that circumscribe the holders of public office? Or do we look at how the system actually works in practice — including how office-holders exploit the rules? There is no 'correct' answer to this question, but its implications can be seen if we consider the British system There are few *laws* that prevent the British parliament from giving the prime minister the kind of powers that the Reichstag gave to Hitler in 1933· there are no *institutional* checks such as are built into the American constitution to guarantee citizens' rights, nor is there a written constitution that delimits the powers of Parliament or the prime minister Potentially, therefore, since Parliament is supreme, Britain could easily and legally become a dictatorship In practice, British politicians act with restraint there are certain agreed conventions which have evolved over centuries which prevent the governing party from using power indiscriminately

Is it beyond the bounds of possibility (*probability* may be a different matter) that communist systems could likewise develop conventions that restrain the leaders from acting in certain undesirable ways? The process of British politics today is very different from how it looked two centuries ago, with its highly restricted franchise, rotten boroughs, and other clearly undemocratic practices However, it is hard to say precisely when the modern form of democratic government became dominant Certain key dates can be identified, including notably Russell's 1831 Reform Bill, but the spread of literacy and various forms of communication later in the nineteenth century were also instrumental in developing a national public opinion and preparing the population for effective participation Comparisons across countries and centuries are at best unreliable, but in Mikhail Gorbachev are we witnessing the communist equivalent of Lord John Russell?

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THE MILITARY COUP IN FIJI

by Keith D. Suter

MAY 14, 1987 was a turning point in Fiji's history At 10 00am precisely Lt. Col Sitiveni Rabuka, O B E strode into Parliament, announced his coup, and ordered the Government M P s out to the waiting trucks The South Pacific's first military coup had taken place

Two months on, it has remained a bloodless coup There has not been an exodus of Fiji Indians; it is not another 'Uganda' The trade sanctions imposed by Australia and New Zealand trades unions against Fiji were lifted on July 20 But it is clear that the coup created far more problems than it was designed to solve

It is still not clear what led to the coup The western mass media — who found the coup lacking in violence and too tame for their tastes — have relegated it to less important pages, their attention is now focussed elsewhere Readers will have been left with the impression that the coup was a straight forward Fijian/Fiji Indian dispute, similar to other 'ethnic' confrontations around the globe

Racial policies certainly played an important role in the coup. But there have been other causes, which are found in societies which have few 'ethnic' confrontations. These causes include corruption, economic instability, impatience with an aging elite, and a fear by that elite of political changes

Lt Col Rabuka's pretext for the coup was that elements in the Fijian community were preparing to defend themselves against the 'Indian' Bavadra Government elected on April 12 It was necessary to remove the Government to protect it! Western newspapers contained quotations such as in the *(Australian Financial Review,* May 18)· A middle-aged Fijian clerk complained 'The Indians have got the economy Then they got the Government We'll soon be strangers in our own land'

714,000 people call Fiji home but only 330,000 call themselves Fijians The majority, about 347,000, are Fiji Indians The residue (about 37,000 are Europeans, other Pacific Islanders and Chinese) This population muddle is part of the larger disaster created by the Europeans in the South Pacific Before the British and Australians criticize the apparent racial motives of Lt Col Rabuka, it is worth recalling the initial British and Australian blame

The South Pacific was one of the last places to receive the impact of European control. In the first half of the 19th century, the islands were visited by traders and runaway convicts from penal establishments in New Caledonia and Australia, who introduced hard liquor and firearms plus diseases to which the islanders had no immunity. In the second half of the century, after the establishment of the sugar industry in Queensland and cotton and sugar in Fiji, thousands of Melanesians were 'blackbirded' (i e. shanghaied) by operators of vessels supplying labour to plantations By the beginning of the 20th century the more easily acces-

sible Pacific islanders had become demoralized and confused The mid-19th century population of Fiji, for example, was put at an estimated 200,000 but at the end of the 1860s it was 170,000 A devastating measles epidemic in 1875 killed 25 per cent of the population The total Fijian population at the beginning of the new century was 95,000 and continued to decline for the next 20 years, with the 1918-19 influenza epidemic carrying off more thousands The census of 1921 found that there were 84,500 Fijians living on the islands

Chief Cakobau ceded Fiji to Britain in 1874 The deed of Cession bound Britain to preserve Fiji's way of life. Thus, all land which had not yet gone to European control (about 90 per cent of the territory) had to remain under Fijian control Europeans could create plantations on the land but could not employ Fijians to do the menial work on the plantations The Fijian chiefs were to continue to govern their own people

Indians were first brought to Fiji in 1879 as indentured labourers to work in the sugar and copra plantations These were largely activities of foreign-owned companies, such as Australia's Colonial Sugar Refining Co , Burns Philp and W. R Carpenter The locals used these companies' initials to illustrate their dislike of the companies 'Bloody Pirates' and 'We Rob Christ' Indeed, although Fiji was a British territory, Whitehall effectively sub-contracted Fiji's economy to Australian financial interests Burns Philp bills of sale were once used as Fijian currency, the Bank of New South Wales (now called Westpac) still does 40 per cent of the nation's banking business and Burns Philp remains one of the nation's largest stevedoring operations After Papua New Guinea, Fiji was Australia's most important colony

The companies' introduction of indentured labour changed Fiji drastically In the 37 years to 1916, 60,000 Indians arrived, of whom about half stayed on after serving five-year contracts and were allowed to become legal residents 'with privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the colony' They now outnumber the original inhabitants But if they are not 'Fijian', they are now no longer 'Indian' and so cannot regard India — let alone Britain — as a homeland to which they may return

Fiji flourished after gaining independence in 1970 It has the largest population of the islands east of Papua New Guinea (over three million) By contrast, Western Samoa has 160,000, Nauru 7,300, Tonga 99,000, Solomon Islands 234,000 and Vanuatu 120,000 Regional South Pacific institutions have tended to be based in Fiji, such as the University of the South Pacific and the Committee for Co-ordination of Joint Prospecting for Minerals in the South Pacific

Fiji also became well known on the international scene Along with Australia and New Zealand it complained to the International Court of Justice about French nuclear testing in the South Pacific (the French did not stop the testing but did decide henceforth to conduct them underground thereby reducing atmospheric pollution) Fiji military units have served with distinction in United Nations forces and in the Common-

wealth Peacekeeping operations that preceded independence in Zimbabewe It was not a wealthy Third World nation (like, say, Singapore and South Korea) but it was not a failure in terms of economic development Its stable political system attracted foreign confidence and foreign investment

Meanwhile, there was little attempt to integrate the citizens of Fiji into one homogenous society. On the contrary, in all sectors of the nation's life the Fijian/Fiji Indian divisions were maintained and institutionalized

At independence in 1970, about 85 per cent of the land belonged to Fijians This is still the case Fijian Indians, meanwhile, dominate the commercial activities This is similar of course to Jews in some European nations who over the centuries were barred from land-ownership and so flourished in business It also applies to Indians and Chinese throughout Asia and Africa

Intermarriage between Fijians and Fiji Indians is prohibited by social convention While there are multi-racial schools, there are also schools catering specifically for each grouping Radio stations carry separate programmes in Fijian and Hindi.

Fiji's electoral system also reflects the separate groupings The Constitution provides for a 52 member Parliament, with 22 Fijians (and other Pacific Islanders), 22 Fiji Indians and 8 General Electors (European, Chinese etc.) 27 of the 52 M P s are elected on a communal franchise. 12 Fijians, 12 Fiji Indians and 3 General Electors — thus each voter casts a vote for a candidate of the elector's own racial origin (a Fijian, for example, has to vote for someone on the Fijian slate of candidates). The remaining 25 M P s are elected on a Common (National) franchise. 10 Fijians, 10 Fiji Indians and 5 General Electors A voter has, then, four votes Let us take the case of a Fiji Indian voter he votes for a Fiji Indian candidate on the communal franchise, then a second vote for another Fiji Indian on the Common (National) franchise, he then votes for a Fiji candidate on that same franchise, and then a fourth vote for a General Elector on that same franchise

This complicated system (a British creation) worked for 17 years Each voter votes not just for a candidate of that voter's ethnic grouping, but has three other votes for candidates espousing national interests that cut across ethnic barriers The communities all gained a sense of security The system worked well — providing the different groups voted along ethnic lines, such as Fijians voting mainly for Fijians

The Upper House (Senate) is no less complicated — but at least voters do not have worry about it The Council of Chiefs nominates 8 members, the Prime Minister 7, the Leader of the Opposition 6 and the Rotuman Council of Chiefs 1 Before May 14, this gave an automatic majority to Fijians because of the Council of Chiefs and Prime Minister (Ratu Mara) having 15 nominees All significant legislation (including changes to land titles) require a three-quarters approval of both Houses, the Council of Chiefs have a blocking veto

Five general elections have been held. 1972, 1977 (April and Septem-

ber), 1982 and 1987 All the elections have been dominated by Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, who has won three of them Fiji had two main political parties — until 1986

The National Federation Party (NFP) began as an association to protect the interests of Fiji Indian cane-farmers against foreign companies It gradually evolved, during the 1950s and 1960s, into a political party Since independence it has become identified with Fiji Indians who grow the sugar but cannot own the land on which it is grown — the NFP would like 99-year leases to be permitted

The Alliance Party was created in the late 1950s under the name of the Fijian Association and in reaction to the NFP. It is largely — but not wholly — Fijian in membership (the NFP is not wholly Fiji Indian). The AP does not, for example, accept the NFP's ideas on 99-year leases

Ratu Mara took his nation into independence in 1970 — the first British colony in the South Pacific to become independent and, until May 14, a showcase of British democracy in the Third World May 14 not only destroyed Fiji's democracy but (in my opinion) destroyed Ratu Mara's reputation as one of — if not the — leading indigenous South Pacific statesman We still do not know the extent to which (if at all) he was behind Lt Col Rabuka's coup But he lost no time in endorsing it and serving in the post-coup administration.

Ratu Mara leading the AP won the 1972 election He lost the April 1977 elections to the NFP but the NFP Government collapsed within days and he was back to form a minority Government In September 1977 he won a landslide victory Fiji's democracy had withstood a severe test He won the July 1982 election, but his AP majority fell from 20 to 4 M P s

The rise of the Fiji Labour Party (FLP), led by Dr. Timoci Bavadra, represented a new era in the nation's politics The FLP promoted itself as a multi-racial party and had its roots in the multi-racial trades union movement Its platform cut across the usual ethnic barriers by focussing upon workers' interests, community welfare, unemployment, women's rights and a more independent foreign policy But he is not Fidel Castro; Fiji was not going to become a new 'Cuba' under his Government

Dr Bavadra, 52, is the Jimmy Carter of his nation's politics — daring to challenge the father of his nation He is a medical practitioner with the common touch — very different from Ratu Mara's increasingly aloof, chiefly bearing He attracted some support from young, under-privileged and educated Fijians. Although a Fijian chief — as distinct from a paramount chief like Ratu Mara — Dr Bavadra also attracted Fiji Indian support The inherent weakness of the 1970 Constitution was, thus, revealed As long as ethnic groups voted on ethnic lines all was well That did not happen in April 1987

The 1986 FLP-NFP alliance was formed since neither alone could win against the AP. The tactic paid off since the coalition in April 1987 won 28 of the 52 seats in the House of Representatives (a reversal of the 1982 AP victory of 28 AP seats to the NFP's 24)

The Bavadra Government only lasted a month Perhaps Lt. Col Rabuka felt compelled to take action since it was clear that there would be no repeat of the April 1977 chaos, in which the new NFP Government fell apart If he had waited much longer, the Government would have become too firmly established It had to be now or never.

Like Dr Bavadra, Lt Col Rabuka is a Methodist Lay Preacher. (The influential Methodist Church is alleged to be sympathetic to the coup) He is a jovial, rugby-playing soldier, who has served with the UN's forces in the Middle East (for which he acquired his O B E).

Dr Bavadra and his colleagues were freed on May 19. They had not been physically ill-treated In the meantime the Governor-General Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau, took over the running of the nation He remains in control, with de facto 'ministers', including Ratu Mara.

Negotiations are still proceeding on a new constitution and a new election. The overall intention is that Fijians will form the post-emergency Government

By South Pacific standards, the Fiji coup was one of the region's main events for a decade There are several issues worth examining

First: despite its notable stability from 1970, Fiji's democracy collapsed with astonishing suddenness — and with an astonishing quiescence The British-created constitution and 17 years of democracy counted for little when the crunch came Outside observers (including the South Pacific Governments and mass media) were all caught by surprise A political novel could never be made as dramatic as the events in May.

Second how justified was Lt. Col Rabuka in his coup? In one sense, his actions can never be justified since he 'suspended' the constitution. But to look at the question on his stated terms — a fear of a Fiji Indian takeover — how justified was this motive? I still do not accept his viewpoint Dr. Bavadra is a Fijian (as distinct from Fiji Indian), who took great care to establish an ethnic balance within his Cabinet Most key portfolios were held by Fijians In apportioning credit for the victory, the major portion has to go to Dr Bavadra and his multi-racial FLP, rather than the more Fiji Indian-dominated NFP In his month in office, Dr Bavadra and his FLP provided most of the inspiration and vision.

Third what were the real threats posed by the FLP/NFP? The real threats, I suggest, may be viewed under four headings The AP had lost its sense of direction Some young Fijians were getting tired of a long-entrenched and increasingly geriatric ruling elite of chiefs. Despite rapid urbanization during the past decade, the majority of Fiji citizens are rural But given the present growth rate, by the year 2000, most of Fiji's population will be living in cities There will be a total population of about one million people — about 60 per cent of whom will be under 30 years of age Rural chiefdoms make little sense in an evolving modern nation The chiefs know it — and fear it A successful Bavadra Government could not change the land ownership rules but it would emphasize that the chiefs are no longer a central factor in running a modern nation

Another 'threat' came from the FLP/NFP's attention to economic and

social development Its support came from the lowly paid workers and Fiji's marginalized people These were not usually high on the AP's agenda or that of the Council of Chiefs Additionally, Dr Bavadra's colleagues were not from the ruling elite and this, too, seemed to usher in a new era Fiji's power struggle has both a racial and a class dimension

The FLP/NFP had also campaigned on promises to investigate allegations of corruption in the AP Government These allegations included the use of hurricane relief money for the construction of a minister's house, the writing-off of a four million dollar loan by the Development Bank to a company which has close connections with another minister, payouts by garment manufacturers to AP coffers in return for not implementing minimum wage recommendations; and the award of twenty thousand dollars to another AP minister in a compensation case before his case went to court During the campaign, Dr Bavadra's coalition pledged to have all allegations of corruption fully investigated if they were elected

A final 'threat' was that Dr Bavadra's Government would follow New Zealand's lead and ban visits by nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed warships He made this pledge at his first prime ministerial press conference He would also inherit Ratu Mara's mantle in South Pacific affairs His only month in office, however, contained no new foreign policy developments

Taken together these threats add up to the fourth issue who was involved directly in the coup? Who provided behind-the-scenes encouragement to Lt Col. Rabuka? The speed with which the machinery of government was in place within hours of the coup (including the new 'cabinet'), indicates that the coup was not planned entirely in the barracks The tactical details were obviously worked out there But the overall guiding hand came from elsewhere. The events flowed too smoothly. The Great Council of Chiefs, I believe, were involved in the planning.

What about external involvement? The KGB can be exonerated The USSR is trying to expand its influence in the South Pacific but the coup has created an administration which is even less pro-Soviet than Dr. Bavadra's Fiji's previous de facto ruler — Australia — can also be exonerated Indeed, its intelligence service is being criticized for being out of touch with the potential risks in Fiji after the April election

The CIA can not be so easily overlooked The FLP/NFP Government would be another thorn in the side (albeit a minute one) because of its nuclear policy The Pacific used to be the 'American lake' but the US has been losing some friends of late — even Ratu Mara complained about American tuna fishing vessels operating in Fiji's waters and the American refusal to sign the new South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty Various allegations have been made But as yet there has been no definite proof.

What could other nations do to help Dr Bavadra's Government? Nothing The Queen, Australia and New Zealand all rejected his requests for assistance While the Crown makes a splendid ornament, its existence does offer a false hope in time of emergency. The British Government

is now most unlikely to intervene directly and unilaterally in the internal affairs of any nation — indeed, as the Hong Kong citizens have found out, the Government is anxious to divest itself of even its own territories. It is unlikely that Fiji will replace the Governor-Generalship with a presidency — but this incident has proved that it virtually has a president anyway.

Australia and New Zealand had, coincidentally, some armed forces in the area. HMAS *Sydney* (guided missile frigate) was at Fiji's capital, Suva; elsewhere in Fiji's waters were its sister ship *Success* and the patrol boats *Stalwart* and *Parramatta* A few days later HMNZS *Wellington,* a frigate, steamed into Suva (On a per capita basis, Fiji probably had more foreign vessels in its waters than either Australia or New Zealand) But (quite rightly in my view) Australia and New Zealand both decided against any military involvement — although the continued presence of the vessels was justified in case fighting broke out and Europeans had to be evacuated.

Australia rejected any military involvement because it believed that the coup would be short-lived; it had a misplaced hope in the integrity of Ratu Mara and the Council of Chiefs Once the latter refused to disarm the coup and instead worked with Lt Col Rabuka, Australia still decided to rule out military activities These would make Australia seem a European bully Australia could wreck Fiji's economy but chose not to do so and was pleased when its trades unions ended their boycott. Full economic sanctions would again make Australia seem a European bully. However much Australians were appalled at Lt. Col Rabuka's lack of sportsmanship, it was a problem for Fiji and not them.

The 15 nations which formed the South Pacific Forum, including Australia and New Zealand, in late May conveyed a 'willingness to help' the Governor-General of Fiji and requesting him to 'indicate the forms of assistance he considered most appropriate'. He did not, however, require any third-party mediations in his nation's affairs Nor could he see a role for the Commonwealth Secretary General.

What warning is there here for civilian government? Clearly your own armed forces can be a threat to your national security! The army is 95 per cent Fijian It was always going to be a risk to any Government which it did not consider Fijian The prestige of Sandhurst has been overshadowed by the memory of Cromwell.

Finally: what of Fiji's future? As of writing, there is no communal violence and no sign of it on the horizon — that is not the 'Pacific way' of doing things. In political terms, we need to see what happens about the new constitution and new election Fiji Indians have played the political game by the rules — and lost. They have every right to be wary of any new political arrangement With their wealth and the flourishing Fijian corruption, they may get further with bribery than democracy

In social terms, the coup has done nothing — and indeed has only made conditions more difficult — for the crisis affecting South Pacific women generally Women are experiencing a decline in status and power as dependency on the cash economy and imported political and social systems

becomes more entrenched in Pacific island societies. Pacific women often held an important place in traditional society; they were economically active as producers, manufacturers, market managers and healers Now, women are increasingly marginalised, they are the least educated or consulted in the community, their work is poorly paid (if at all) and often unrecognised in government development planning Rural women in many Pacific countries carry out the majority of agricultural and production work They are often disadvantaged in formal education and excluded from training which would enable them to benefit from new labour saving technologies Their access to the rural cash economy decreases as more emphasis is placed on such technology In cities, women are often found in highly exploited sectors of the labour force, such as the tourist industry and the service sector Pacific islanders also face a number of health problems related to rapid economic and social transition Alcoholism is a serious problem; women suffer the consequences of the increased violence and financial difficulties alcoholism brings into the home Dependency on imported foods has led to health problems such as anaemia, malnutrition and dental caries For women, the cycle of poor health is perpetuated by poor eating habits, lack of information about either traditional or Western medicines and the stresses of many pregnancies and hard physical work

In economic terms, the underlying factors which contributed to the FLP/NFP victory have, ironically, only been made worse by the coup. Fiji has lost its international image of political stability Companies have doubts about increasing their investment in Fiji

Despite the lack of violence, the tourists left Fiji and many others decided to cancel proposed trips 1987's total tourists may not even reach half of the 1986 total Tourism is a major industry, 280,000 visitors go there each year (in per capita terms, Britain would need to attract 19 million tourists per year) It is the largest industry for Fiji in terms of foreign earnings, bringing in about 100 million pounds per year (43 per cent of which comes from Australia) In early June, the Solomon Islands (which cost A$1,295 to fly to, compared with Fiji's A$399) had an Australian advertising campaign 'War in the Solomons ended in 1945 Why risk Fiji?'

The Fijians have the land, the Fiji Indians have the industry They need each other. But in the long-term, Fijians need the Fiji Indians more than they need the Fijians Lt Col Rabuka's coup has done his nation little good — and has proved the wisdom of Dwight Eisenhower's ironic advice 'The necessary and wise subordination of the military to civil power will be best sustained when lifelong professional soldiers abstain from seeking high political office'

[Dr Keith D Suter is Foundation Director of Trinity Peace Research Institute]

MEDIA RELATIONS: THE TOOLS OF THE DIPLOMAT'S TRADE

by Yoel Cohen

IT would be inaccurate to claim that only to-day have the news media become factors in British foreign policy In 1855 Lord John Russell, the foreign secretary, had to resign on his return from the negotiations in Vienna to settle the Crimean dispute after the terms of the secret agreement leaked out So did Sir Samuel Hoare in similar circumstances in the 1930s Since then, the media have become integral elements in the making and implementing of foreign policy.

The growing sophistication of media technology — satellites, electronic news gathering equipment and video display terminals — link the public instantaneously to events occurring in distant parts of the world, requiring diplomats to react quickly in order that their government's interpretation of the event will become the accepted one. Owing to the greater number of people and government departments involved in decision making — co-ordination in Whitehall regarding EEC matters is one area — leaks are much more the norm than was the case when information could be confined to a handful of officials in the Foreign Office

The extent to which the media are used to signal to other governments, or to manoeuvre those governments with which the British Government is negotiating, depends partly on the style of the specific relationship and on the issue While the European security negotiations have been characterised by respect for the convention of diplomatic confidentiality, leaks are among the tools of trade of the diplomat involved in EEC negotiations.

In moulding opinion about Britain abroad the media are key channels given that the media are perceived by an intended audience as generally unbiased, but with export promotion a basic feature of Britain's foreign policy, the role of the media has altered. Specialised trade and technical media in North America, West Europe and Japan are important channels for projecting British goods; three-quarters of the overseas work of the Central Office of Information is export-orientated.

Public expenditure cuts have reduced the number of full-time UK-based information attachés from nearly 250 in the early 1960s to less than 25 today Pakistan, Tanzania, Egypt, Argentina and with two exceptions all other British diplomatic posts in Latin America are among those without a full-time UK-based information attaché. By contrast, such oil-producing countries as Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway and Venezuela each have one In many posts it is the responsibility of the commercial attaché

The re-definition of British information work away from generalised image projection towards commercial publicity has not extended to other areas of information policy, notably external broadcasting Underlying this are conflicting views regarding the role of information work in external relations On the one hand, information strategy should reflect

and support a country's power and influence On the other hand, advocates of which view include the BBC, when such forms of power as colonial possessions and military might decline, others are required to replace them

Indeed, by broadcasting unbiased information to a world increasingly dominated by state control of the media, the BBC is a symbol of Britain as an open democratic society in a similar way to which the humanitarian work of the International Committee of the Red Cross projects Switzerland

Officials have come to realise that much of what appears in the foreign media about Britain is written and broadcast by the foreign press corps in London — the largest in the world after that in the United States Foreign correspondents are often ignored by home government departments and ministers For *Time* magazine's bureau chief to interview Mrs Thatcher during the June 1983 election campaign was considered a major scoop In the Falklands war no foreign correspondents were included in the naval task force to the South Atlantic Nor, with the exception of the American correspondents, were they given off the record briefings by the Ministry of Defence.

In the long term, officials need to ascertain whether the existing media channels are a still useful means for projecting Britain In the case of the foreign press corps in London, for example, there is little interest today in British foreign policy with many correspondents concentrating on the domestic news story — the economy (including the nation's industrial ills), the welfare state and British culture being among the major themes. For some, key criteria for being based in London are the good communications to other parts of Europe, technological facilities such as satellite feeds, and the fact that English is the main language.

The same is true for moulding public attitudes regarding foreign policy at home The Foreign and Commonwealth's influence over diplomatic correspondents has been drastically reduced, with London no longer a diplomatic centre and as a big a recipient of diplomatic information as in the past, and with the correspondents less inhibited from turning to such alternative sources of information as foreign embassies Ministers of the Crown are encouraged to appear on radio and television but, unlike his State Department counterpart, whose briefings are televised, the FCO spokesman is an unknown face Notwithstanding that it is the main source of information for the public, television is not an ideal medium through which to explain foreign policy, given the visual medium's propensity for conveying effects rather than causes

Apart from the Treasury, the FCO is the only government department not to use career information officers since it is agreed that publicity in external relations requires an adept diplomatic sense But the growing sophistication of the media would argue for diplomats to receive a training in information technology and in such techniques as appearing on camera As long ago as 1954 the Drogheda Inquiry on overseas information work favoured the creation of a cadre of information

specialists given what it saw as a prejudice among career diplomats towards public relations. That prejudice has largely disappeared today with every member of a diplomatic mission, from the ambassador downwards, acting as spokesperson.

While there are growing points of contact between the news media and modern diplomacy there are many areas where diplomacy and the media go their separate ways Increasingly, the themes of British diplomacy concern functional, trade and scientific relations rather than such media topics as war and peace Leaving television to provide sometimes instantaneous coverage of events abroad, popular papers concentrate on home investigative feature stories.

In the future further advancements in media technology may be expected to expose the public to even more information about world developments In the case of the moulding of public support abroad intensive exposure to controversial policies such as Northern Ireland will require considerable efforts by British spokespersons to explain these policies In the case of the public at home, intensive exposure to international developments such as South Africa generate wide public interest, bringing pressure on British policymakers, requiring them to balance between the perceived national interest and domestic pressures, thus limiting their options.

[Dr Yoel Cohen is the author of *Media Diplomacy the Foreign Office in the mass communications age,* recently published by Frank Cass]

The November issue of *Contemporary Review* includes *Xizang — the Tibetan Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China* by Thomas Stapleton, *Is There Life After Graduation?* by Paul Greer, *Arab Contribution to Rural Life in Spain* by Habeeb Salloum and *In Poland At the Workers' Mass* by Jonathan Luxmoore (held over from the October issue)

THE GRAND BAZAAR

by John Elsom

THE Grand Bazaar in Istanbul is the largest, as well as one of the oldest, oriental bazaars in the world: a maze of medieval alleyways offering nothing but temptation, delicate jewellery, little rod puppets made from camel hide which sparkle against the lamps, carpets fit for a palace It is an Aladdin's cave. You could direct a cab driver to 'the Grand Bazaar', but I suspect that 'Open Sesame' would do

Some objects have price tags, others do not, but with or without, you are expected to negotiate I was lured by a ring leather vest, very macho, marked at $10, for which I bargained and bought for $8 Triumph. But a tougher-minded friend saw a similar vest at a nearby stall, tagged at $8, which he bought for $7. But unlike other oriental bazaars, the bargaining is kept within limits My friend, an Algerian, first proposed $4 with a take-it-or-leave-it look on his face, the mark of someone trained in market haggling. The shopkeeper smiled politely and invited him to think again, and he was left to edge up his offer

Nor would we have been pursued, as in other oriental bazaars Around each shop in the Grand Bazaar, there is a kind of *cordon sanitaire* beyond which the shopkeeper may not stray. He would be trespassing on someone else's territory Sometimes though he would stay on his own territory and shout across, 'You come from England? I have a cousin in Willesden Green. You know Willesden Green? It's on the Jubilee Tube Line Railway underground $10 for this magnificent vest. You could not get such a magnificent vest in Willesden Green ' And so on

There are hidden codes of honour in buying and selling, which differ from place to place In Britain, we do not like haggling as a rule. It causes us embarrassment. It suggests that we the customers are poor or being mean, that the shopkeeper is being greedy or that the goods on offer aren't worth the price asked In any of these cases, there would be a loss of face on somebody's part, which is why we prefer the anonymous arbitration of a price tag We don't, of course, accept any price which is being asked It's just that we choose not to argue about it in public We think about it privately and tot it up against various other measures Can we afford it? Are the goods cheaper elsewhere? Is it worth the bother of looking? Is it a 'fair price'?

The behaviour in oriental bazaars is less secretive. The shopkeeper starts out by asking too much, the customer responds by offering too little and between these two extremes, the negotiations take place The bargaining becomes very personal If the final deal favours the shopkeeper, his self-esteem flourishes You can see it doing so, particularly among the younger, eager salesmen If it doesn't, or he loses the sale, he looks miserable: the baby will go hungry again tonight The wilier shopkeepers know, of course, the value of an apparent defeat The customer, flushed with success, will come back again, over-confident perhaps

and not so lucky

That's one of the delights of oriental bazaars There's always so much drama And sometimes the drama gets in the way of business A shopkeeper can get so involved with haggling that other customers are neglected, and the wily buyer will bide his time until the seller tires of arguing, and loses his concentration, at which moment bargains can be quickly struck

In commercial matters, as in so many other ways, Turkey is poised between the occident and the orient. The traders at the Grand Bazaar place not unreasonable price tags on their goods, they take credit cards and almost any hard currency; and some have branches in Paris, London and New York But they still expect the customer to bargain, and it is still a question of personal honour to strike a good deal At the Grand Bazaar, you can watch Western and Middle Eastern practices operating side by side, vividly illustrating the social programming to which we are all subject.

In Britain, for example, we still attach some importance to the 'fair price', which is why some US marketing methods do not work as planned. The British idea of a 'fair' price is not easily defined, for it involves so many relative values: a fair return to the producer, a fair cut to the dealer and a fair deal for the customer 'Fairness' is something which does not involve exploitation The producers do not slave for pittances, while the dealers grow rich at their expense At some point, in other words, egalitarianism enters into the equation.

The old slogan for trade unionists was 'a fair day's work for a fair day's wage', much abused, of course, much discredited, but not entirely forgotten. In Britain, when goods are offered at below the normal price, which is assumed to be fair, the customer wants to know why The shopkeeper has to explain This is a 'Summer Sale', which means that the shelves are being cleared for the new Autumn stock, or a 'Closing Down Sale' The customer is led to believe that there is a particular reason why the 'fair price' is being ignored Plain price-cutting is not good enough

1987 has seen a price war among London's evening papers. Robert Maxwell launched his *London Daily News* at 15p, which undercut his main rival, the *London Evening Standard,* by 5p *The Evening Standard* retaliated by reviving the *Evening News* at 10p With all these price fluctuations, however, the long-established *London Evening Standard* remained the market leader. The public preferred, rightly or wrongly, the settled price for the settled product If this price had been thought unfair, Maxwell's tactics might well have worked As it was, the paper closed with heavy losses

Economists may well dismiss talk of a 'fair price' as hogwash. Any first year student knows that prices are determined by supply and demand, and if there are too many producers and too few dealers, then dealers will charge more for their services, which in turn should lead to more dealers and fewer producers until an equilibrium is reached The answer to personal greed is not an appeal to honour, but straight competition. Com-

petition forces prices down, but, in an ideal world, not so far that links in the producing/selling/buying chain are lured towards bankruptcy

If the system breaks down (and, of course, it is continually breaking down), this does not prove the invalidity of the model, only the failure to find the appropriate price level Pricing is or should be a semi-automatic procedure, which fails mainly when human beings gang together to thwart its operation If the producers enter into an agreement to keep commodity prices high, as in 1973 with oil and the OPEC countries, then the dealers and the customers suffer, and prices are artificially kept above the market level If, on the other hand, the dealers and the customers enter into a formal or informal agreement, then the producers are held to ransom, which is why artificially low commodity prices have so damaged the economies of many Third World countries

The crusading zeal of Mrs. Thatcher's government has been directed towards restoring the purity of the market economy This is the theory behind the privatisation of the previously nationalised sectors of British industry, the sale of council houses and the assault on the power of the trade unions It has a long and honourable history in British politics, dating back to the 'free trade' policies of the Manchester Liberals and before then to Adam Smith. It succeeds best, at least as a populist movement, when there are obvious targets to attack. Gladstone had as his opponents the landed gentry, Campbell-Bannerman the House of Lords Mrs Thatcher has had not just obvious targets, such as Arthur Scargill, but a zeitgeist of British economic failure, in which the decline of socialism and the loss of the empire have played more or less equal parts And she has arrived at a time when socialism is on the retreat throughout Europe, West and East Nobody now believes in what was once an article of faith, that the centralised state economies can provide sounder, fairer and more prosperous societies than could be achieved under the market system.

The trouble with the 'free trade' philosophy lies in the fact that market economies can never be all that pure. This is a lesson which should have been learnt from the Mancunian Liberals Market economists are always urging others to live in the real world, but they also have to learn something about how people behave The market model is always being pulled out of shape by the strength of human loyalties and codes of conduct One source of Mrs Thatcher's popularity in Britain lies in her patriotism, the belief that she is quick to defend British interest against foreigners In the real world, people are always ganging together to secure better deals within the market system, and the codes of honour to which I have referred are ways of curbing sectional self-interests before they erupt into pitched battles

To believe that the market economy functions automatically, if allowed to do so, and provides the only true test of commercial reality is a delusion, which whittles away at those culturally acquired checks and balances which prevent conflicting interests from going to war To believe that anything is automatic in human behaviour is a kind of throwback to

nineteenth century mechanism, when God was the great watchmaker; and it belongs to the same way of thinking that has produced in our time the corporate state It may be opposed to the corporate state, but it starts from similar assumptions It supposes that economic self-interest is the main motivating force behind human behaviour, and this is not necessarily so

The Grand Bazaar has many stalls, many currencies and many ways of cultivating a trust Poised between East and West, North and South, Istanbul warily welcomes all-comers To the South-East, ayatollahs complain about the pernicious influence of Kemal Ataturk, who caused havoc to their philosophy by separating church from state The Shi-ites are coming to Turkey, gaining strength in the country districts. girls in the universities have taken to wearing veils like anti-US T-shirts To the North-West, the EEC beckons, to the North-East the Soviet Union If it can maintain a friendly balance among all its interests, Istanbul could become the banker to the Middle East, as Beirut once was. If it fails, it could become as Beirut now is, a tragic ruin In preserving the grand design of universal friendship, torture cannot be excluded.

They are cleaning up the Golden Horn to attract more tourists, and the great mosques and palaces which sweep down to the sea of Marmara are being restored St Sofia and the Blue Mosque are still connected by an avenue of hollyhocks, a glorious, despised weed, and in St Sofia itself, quotations from the Koran hang on the walls beside images of the Virgin and Child It could be called an open city.

'I have a friend in Willesden Green', calls out a shopkeeper to persuade you to buy He has friends everywhere and so do I But what is the price of friendship, as the monetarists and Shi-ites pursue their fanatical goals?

POSITIVE DISENGAGEMENT

by Anthony Wigram

NOW that the General Election is over, we can all breathe a hearty sigh of relief The idea of a new Labour Government undoing all the ground work which Mrs Thatcher has achieved was too appalling to contemplate But this is no time to rest on our oars. The opportunity is here at last to confine Left Wing Socialism to history It is an opportunity which must not be missed

Mrs. Thatcher realises this only too well During her two terms of office, she has done a magnificent job Her greatest achievement has been to convert the Conservative Party to a belief in radical economic policies of the Right Before the Thatcher era we were far too ready to believe that Socialism was inevitable — that there were no alternative methods for providing services other than by the State itself

This has now been proved to be nonsense It is perfectly clear that the use of alternative agents to take over what had been regarded as the duty of the State is not only possible but also more efficient and more productive

The purpose of this article is to advance the cause of 'disengagement' to every corner of State activity with the exception of Defence and Law and Order.

The arguments for disengagement are not merely economic nor are they merely doctrinal There is a solid basis for the philosophy of disengagement It rests on the four following arguments

Firstly, the State must be unbiased and it cannot be unbiased if it is directly involved. For example, if the State is an employer of say nurses or school teachers, how is it able to reach unbiased decisions on proper terms for teachers or nurses' working pay and conditions? It is a contradiction in terms It is impossible to be both directly involved as a participator and at the same time, an impartial judge. If the State is to be impartial, it must be disengaged

Secondly, there is the age old question of the corruption of power This has become a cliche of politics and it is, therefore, ignored This is wrong The corruption of power is extremely damaging to the effectiveness and the efficiency of Government Corruption does not mean outright bribery We are fortunate to have a Civil Service which is probably the least corrupt in the world Corruption has to do with the arrogance or the indifference of those in office It has to do with disinterest and sloth caused by lack of incentive It has to do with jobs for the boys and interdepartmental cover-ups of delays and inefficiencies Finally, it has to do with the personal hobby-horses of unelected officials In any society in which the State plays a disproportionate part corruption is inevitable

Thirdly, there is the inefficiency of State run organisations This is related to corruption but it is not quite the same thing The inefficiency of State organisations is manifest in the poor performance of Communist

countries since the war compared to that of the free democracies of the West The main causes of State inefficiency are first, the inevitable amateurism of both Civil Servants and Ministers who have neither the training nor perhaps the real incentive or inclination to run commercial enterprises Second, there are no commercial constraints, no balance sheets, no share holders, no competition to compel efficiency and finally, when a politician is running a commercial enterprise, he is bound to put political considerations above commercial reality and is, therefore, likely to make poor decisions

For these reasons, State run enterprises will always be inefficient, wasteful of resources and expensive in terms of human effort and taxation This is not something which can be ignored Wasted human effort is unacceptable and has a direct counterpart in human suffering which would be unnecessary if the orginal resources had been properly managed and redirected in the first place Finally, and perhaps most important of all, there is the question of alienation How easy it is to take democracy for granted and to blame the Government if anything goes wrong The more the Government is involved in the personal affairs of every citizen, the more the Government will be blamed for its mistakes

If a citizen and the Government are in conflict on any particular issue, there is bound to be disillusionment and alienation The Government is blamed if trains do not run on time The Government is blamed if housing repairs are not carried out The Government is blamed if there are traffic jams The Government is blamed for hospital waiting lists, for inadequate pensions, etc, etc

Alienation is dangerous because it causes a citizen to be disillusioned with the State and, therefore, to develop a loss of loyalty to the State, a loss of a sense of duty and a loss of the inclination to obey the laws which the State makes

In a democracy, this is important No free society can function unless it is based on the goodwill of the citizen That goodwill is bound to be eroded if the State spreads its tentacles into every corner of Society How much better it is now to blame British Telecom if the telephones don't work rather than some Minister or Civil Servant in Whitehall The State must be seen to be on the same side as the citizen, defending his rights and privileges against all forms of attack, profiteering or inefficiency, rather than on the other side, making excuses for apparent failures

The philosophical case for disengagement is overwhelming The State must remain free and impartial, not be involved in day-to-day conflict The ideal State is a combination of philosopher, teacher and umpire The philosopher seeks the truth, the teacher spreads the truth and the umpire enforces the truth If the State is a participator, it can never fulfil this role

In practical terms, the complete disengagement of the State is perfectly possible, but it will mean parting company with certain habits of mind which have dominated much political thinking since the Second World War It is always a considerable wrench to break old habits It can be done, however, and must be done if democracy is to be made safe for

future generations It is important to state here that the concept of disengagement in no way diminishes the responsibility of the State to look after individual citizens and to attend to their welfare This responsibility is the prime function of the State, in all circumstances There must be no denial of this duty Disengagement does not mean lack of interest

There can be no true disengagement without full employment Quite clearly, if the State is not going to be directly involved with the provision of any particular service, then the citizen must be able to look after him or herself and effectively pay for that service This cannot be done unless there is full employment. Full employment is by no means impossible Let us look at the situation logically The people who provide employment are employers If there is to be full employment, employers must employ more people And there is no reason why this could not be achieved Under the present system, the Government takes huge amounts of tax from companies and firms who are the wealth creating agencies, and uses that money to provide the health and welfare services This is a very expensive method of achieving the result It means that a vast bureaucracy of Civil Servants is created, controlled by an equally vast number of commitees and sub-committees to do a job which could and should have been done by someone else in the first place If taxes were not snatched by the State, the individual firms or companies would have the money available in their own hands to expand their workforces

At present, a firm or company pays corporation tax, national insurance, income tax on its employees salary, income tax on dividends as well as a whole range of indirect taxes including VAT If all direct taxes were abolished there would be scope for more employment without any additional net cost to any firm

For example, if a firm increases its labour force by ten percent it will probably increase its overall costs by five percent assuming that labour represents fifty percent of annual expenditure Taxation on salaries probably amounts to at least twenty-five percent of labour costs, national insurance, a further ten percent The mathematics of the case are very straight forward, tax lost is greater than expenses to be incurred.

The question, however, remains whether firms would wish to take on these additional responsibilities and, just as important, whether they would be appropriate and safe To answer the second of these questions first The danger is that a firm might take on responsibilities for employment and then, when it runs into hard times, go bankrupt This is a possibility which must be faced and answered properly if the idea is to be credible

First of all, if there is a general recession, everybody is bound to suffer. The standard of living will decline and no power on earth can alter that fact However, rather than lay off workers in such circumstances, there is the possibility of work sharing to insure that any hardship which has to be borne is borne equally in the community A simple example of this would be to reduce the working week during times of recession from five days to four This would automatically produce a twenty percent drop in productivity and consequently a need for twenty percent more people to

do the job Obviously, salaries would be correspondingly reduced but this is something workers would understand and ought to be prepared to accept as part of a general package

Worksharing is a most important proposal which will have to be carefully considered in the future One of the great blessings of the growth of technology is that it will eventually produce robots and computers which will greatly reduce the need for the kind of work which humanity has had to suffer in the past Looking two or three centuries ahead, it is quite possible that work as we now know it will no longer be necessary at all. This will be a great blessing People will be able to spend their lives in truly creative activities including scientific research, music, art, sport etc We now rather look down on leisure activities as somehow second rate because they are fun. This is an absurd hangover from the Puritan ideals of previous centuries. Of course, these ideals played a large part in the growth of our civilization and are greatly to be admired in their place. They must not, however, usurp our understanding of the human spirit which, at its best and most creative, does not need the motive of starvation to inspire great achievements We now look back on the appalling automated production lines illustrated by Charlie Chaplin in *Modern Times* with horror, and dismay This took place only a few decades ago. In a few short decades' time, people will look back on this age with similar revulsion

Work sharing is, therefore, an important innovation and an essential part of achieving full employment It will not, however, prevent a firm from going bankrupt In good times, bankruptcy is caused either by a bad basic product or bad management. Bad products can and must be rectified by diversification. This requires a certain flexibility of mind which the Japanese have perfected. It is absolutely no use expecting the world to stand still and let British Industry go on doing the same old job in the same old way. What is the point of companies sitting on the banks of the Clyde expecting orders for ships to materialise out of nowhere? This is part of the tragedy of British management since the war, caused by lack of incentive and lack of leadership

The Japanese were quick to realise that diversification into modern industry was essential and achievable There are literally hundreds of products to be made if only people had the imagination and the guts to go on and make them. We live in the age of the greatest consumer boom in history If you can't make ships, why not make trombones or garden chairs or any one of the thousands of products which flood into this country from abroad, rather than sitting around complaining, hoping that the Government is somehow going to bail you out

Of course, the Government has and will continue to have great responsibilities in this area. The first of these is to achieve proper incentives by reducing taxation and this to some extent has been done. However, the Government must act as the catalyst to mobilise all the elements of society to make sure that wealth creating agencies have the proper services and the proper support which they need to do their job. The

first of these elements is the Trade Unions Great strides have been taken here. More are needed Trade Unions have a great role to play in the success of British industry Let us hope that they have now realised this and will give their full support to the efforts which are being made on behalf of their members

Next, there are the bankers and the city men who must put up the risk capital for diversified ventures to succeed Gradually this too is improving as new kinds of investment ideas are brought forward But we have lagged behind other countries in the provision of enterprised finance for many, many years This has made diversification difficult or impossible In addition, there are the shareholders, the Monopolies and Mergers Commission and the Consumers Association, all of which could and should have a really active part to play in the development and success of wealth creating companies

The major criticism of British Industry and British Government since the war is that its attempts at wealth creation have been so half-hearted and apologetic This has got to end. It requires co-ordination and will require more legislation Given these things, there is no reason why British companies cannot succeed in good times as well as bad and expand their employment to take on all those willing and able to work Of course, there will be some failures and difficulties The Government would have to provide a basic safety net on a temporary basis for certain company failures but if the need for full employment was really explained as an essential part of disengagement there is no reason why it could not become a necessary part of the social structure.

The second part of the question is whether or not firms and companies would wish to participate in the manner described The answer to this is fairly simple If the tax incentives were greater than the additional costs, then in all logic, they ought to agree to the proposals. The tax incentives should indeed be greater than the costs because of the removal of all the administrative bureaucratic layers that would be possible once such changes had been made But profit is not the only reason for participation Before the Industrial Revolution, landowners used to feel a responsibility to the people who worked for them and indeed this responsibility was carried through into the law itself which gave every village community the obligation to look after the people who came from that village for their entire life The modern firm or company can be seen as a replacement of the village community of the pre-industrial era Firms are already much involved with the welfare of their employees This is enlightened self-interest If their employees are happy, healthy and well looked after, then they are more likely to concentrate their energies on their work and become more inventive and productive

Many companies already take on a quota of handicapped people and much excellent work is done The ingenuity of the best managers and the best employers should be mobilised to help those people in society who need help The best way of doing this is by making them feel that they can do a useful job It is often said that some people are unemployable

So they may be by standard criteria, but with careful handling and understanding large firms and companies could reduce the number of people who really cannot do a job of any kind to very much below current levels

This kind of welfare work could be done much better by the individual firms than the State because the individual firm has the incentive to act efficiently and to get the best out of its own employees Given full employment, the rest of the picture falls easily into shape. All pensions would be achieved by individual insurance, possibly with some degree of top up for special cases This would have the great benefit of giving each person private wealth in their own hands, which would be built up by professional fund managers The pension funds themselves would provide the necessary safety nets or guarantees between companies

The health service would be covered by private insurance schemes These would be compulsory as are the present contributions to both health and insurance Experiments are taking place in this field, notably in America where co-operative schemes are proving extremely successful Once again there may well have to be an element of top up but in the health service, the individual hospitals would be run by private companies in competition with each other for the business available

In education, all schools would become independent and run by head teachers in conjunction with governers and parents. An extension of the student grant system or a voucher system would cover the costs, giving parents total choice as to where their children were educated. It is a question of trust Why shouldn't the teachers and parents in the State sector be just as successful as they have been for many years in the private sector? The bureaucracy surrounding education is incredibly expensive and gives a political element in an area from which politics should be excluded

This then, briefly, is the concept of disengagement; the complete withdrawal of the State from all direct action except Defence and Law and Order This is both feasible and right It should be the goal of this Third Conservative Administration. If we believe in the freedom of the individual and have confidence in the essential quality of human nature, then disengagement is the only path to follow

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[Anthony Wigram has been a 'grass roots' Conservative Party worker for many years, he has also been a Parliamentary Candidate and a member of the Westminster City Council He was the founder and first Chairman of Conservative Action for Electoral Reform, he has written numerous articles and pamphlets on constitutional issues]

FINLAND — SEVENTY YEARS OF FREEDOM

by Donald J. C. Cook

WITH 6th December 1987 marking the 70th Anniversary of Finnish Independence, the years of strife in 1917-18 and again in 1939-45 will inevitably be recalled, when, but for outstanding military and political determination, freedom could have been lost

It was during the period between 1809 and 1917, when Finland was under the autocratic rule of the Czars, that nationalism began to find cohesive expression Not, as is more usual today, through political articulation, but mainly from literature, music and the arts These awakened the deeply-rooted national spirit, gave form, and emerged as the power-base for establishing an independent identity

In literature, Elias Lonnrot was foremost He had travelled the country collecting folk-poetry from the villages and hamlets, and from these published the national epic *Kalevala* The impact of this narrative poem gleaned from the native folklore was tremendous. It became an inspiration to writers, artists, and musicians alike Politically and in the schools its subsequent influence was immense

Towards the end of the 19th century, painter Akseli Gallen-Kallela gave a visual expression and interpretation of the *Kalevala* and the national Finnish spirit which were of great power and meaning. But it was his friend, composer Jean Sibelius, whose works thundered across the Western world and stirred the international imagination about the Finns and their land

The Bolshevik Revolution was the turning-point Finland declared Independence on 6th December 1917, and Lenin recognised the new country in January 1918 However, there was a serious attempt to overthrow the new democratic government by Finnish communists who wanted to set up a Soviet republic, and who were aided by Russian troops stationed in Finland At that point the formidable figure of General Carl Gustaf Mannerheim returned from Russia, organised a national army and after a brilliant campaign defeated the revolutionaries

In 1939 Finland became the victim of Soviet strategic demands which were refused In the Winter War which followed the Russian invaders were bloodily rebuffed, to the amazement of a world expecting to see Finland overrun But Mannerheim had come out of retirement to lead the forces and, when peace came in March 1940 after the odds became impossible, the country remained independent, but suffered an 11 per cent loss of territory

When Hitler invaded Russia in the summer of 1941, the Finns allied with Germany to regain their lost lands. There was no alternative Opposition to Germany would have meant occupation, with future independence snuffed out if Hitler was victorious So Finland maintained her own limited war aims, refused to participate in the seige of Leningrad, and fought on the basis of national interest, not German.

With the German armies retreating from Russia in the summer of 1944, Finland was presented with Armistice terms by the Soviet Union which were economically impossible to meet Refusal brought an offensive designed to secure capitulation and occupation. Thanks to Mannerheim's generalship, the Finns were able to contain it, with the result that new Armistice terms were offered which, hard though they were in territorial demands and reparations, were realistic Acceptance brought added economic burdens when the German Army laid waste the towns and villages in its retreat from Lapland

Finland's independence had been preserved at tremendous cost in battle casualties in the war, and great economic difficulties in the early years of peace Yet, when I first visited Helsinki in the summer of 1951 there were signs everywhere of a remarkable recovery There was still an acute shortage of accommodation in the capital and other towns caused by the influx of half-a-million refugees from Karelia, which had been ceded to the Russians Although the general allocation was set at one room per person, which had considerably eased the situation by then, the problem was to be eventually solved by expansion of the building programme

Reparations had called for the speedy development of new industries and the training of personnel, particularly in engineering and metal By 1951 the debt to Russia was on target in spite of such difficulties, and I found amongst the people I met a spirit of determined optimism Coming from Britain where we were still being rationed, I was amazed that the Helsinki shops were full of consumer goods of every kind, and that food was freely available

That was also the year of the first Sibelius Festival, when the American, Eugene Ormandy of the Philadelphia Symphony, conducted the Helsinki City Orchestra I recall how emotional was the audience response on the evening I attended, particularly when 'Finlandia' was played at the concert's conclusion There was a standing ovation and constant calls for an encore As the piece was played again, nobody sat down The feeling it evoked came from the roots of the land of forests and placid lakes, and I knew then the real meaning of that preciously-held independence

Finland has been fortunate when in direst peril to produce outstanding men able to measure up to the challenge of the moment. Marshall Mannerheim, of course, was one but most of the political burden from 1944 fell on the brilliant prime minister, afterwards President, Juho Paasikivi It was he who guided the country through the early post-war years when independence hung by a thread He forged a relationship with the Russians based on strict conformity to the letter of the Treaty He knew the Russian attitude to Finland had always been strategic, and the need was to convince them that, as a Western democracy, their policy of positive neutrality was a reality

The degree of his success in laying the foundations of mutual trust came in 1955 when Kruschev handed back the Porkkala area, west of Helsinki This had originally been leased to the Soviet Union for fifty

years as a base While the advance in missile technology had probably by then overtaken the base's strategic use, this remained an important demonstration of the growth of confidence

Also in 1955, Finland became a full member of the United Nations, and in 1961 an associate member of EFTA From those dates it can be said that the country really came in from the cold After reparations had been paid, there could have been economic problems in those new industries which had been expanded rapidly for the purpose With little hope of competing in the west at that time, the Russians opened their markets and those of Eastern Europe, significantly too without political strings.

Being neutral, Finland today isn't burdened with high military expense, unlike those of the rival Power blocs, and has been able to concentrate on internal development and exports to a world market The excellence of Finnish architecture and design are well-known, and continually produce young men and women of imagination and versatility deeply concerned with the quality of life Overall, there seems to be an infectious enthusiasm for the future, whether it be in 'business, the arts, literature, athletics, winter sports, or rally-driving

As long ago as 1929 a French writer stated, 'When I return from Finland, I feel younger and livelier, I make great plans, I like many things in the world and, what is more, I like myself a little better '

I think this sentiment remains true for most who have fallen under the spell of this energetic, highly-cultured, and spectacularly beautiful country. After seventy years the Finns can congratulate themselves on what they have made of it, against the odds, and be proud of their achievements forged from their story of sacrifice and honour

THE ENIGMA OF HITLER'S LAST MAN

by Manfred R. Hamm

AN era has come to a close On August 17, 1987, Rudolf Hess, the last survivor of Hitler's inner circle, died in a British Military Hospital in West Berlin where he had been rushed after a suicide attempt The 93 year-old Hess had been confined to Spandau prison since 1947 when he was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Nuremberg Tribunal For the last 20 years, he was the sole prisoner in this old military penitiary originally designed for 600 inmates His last Nazi comrades had been released in 1966 Despite frail health, deteriorating vision, and nearly half his life behind bars, Rudolf Hess was condemned to die in prison

Certainly, as Hitler's deputy in the Nazi Party and one of his earliest and most fanatic followers, Hess was a symbol of a bygone era. Born in 1894 in Alexandria, Egypt, the son of a German merchant, he had volunteered in World War I and returned badly wounded to a fragile Weimar Republic rocked by socialist chaos. Like many others, he held radical socialists responsible for the lost war and yearned for a saviour who would restore order at home and free the country from the *Diktat of Versailles* as the peace treaty became known because of its severe terms.

He found 'his man', Adolf Hitler, in May 1920 at a meeting of the fledgling Nazi Party in the *Sterneckerbrau,* a popular beer hall in Munich Hitler promised national restoration, law and order and an end to the much hated November Republic Hess joined the movement and organized several hundred militant students into a para-military organization, the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) to protect Nazi gatherings against Communist street bands When Hitler grabbed the leadership of the NSDAP in July 1921, Hess had him proclaimed 'The Fuehrer'. Thus a pseudo-religious personality cult was born, which Hess perfected subsequently with fanatic obsession.

Hess was perhaps Hitler's most diligent disciple and took part in the raid on the *Buergerbraukeller,* another Munich beer hall, to force the assembled ministers of the Bavarian Republic to march on Berlin to topple the federal government After the aborted 'putsch', he was sent with Hitler to Fort Landsberg, a maximum security prison. There he assisted his mentor in writing the epic *Mein Kampf,* Hitler's manifesto, which was to become the bible of Nazi Germany Following his release, Hess was Hitler's right-hand man, a devoted servant and 'conscience' of the Party His loyalty paid off handsomely in April 1933 when Hitler named him deputy leader of the Nazi Party.

Although he was given ever more authority, reviewed draft legislation and had a hand in government appointments down to the upper echelons, Hess progressively lost influence on government policy The Party Secretariat was in Munich but the fulcrum of power was the Chancellery located in Berlin Attempts to combine both under his leadership were

rebuffed by Hitler One of his last symbolic acts was the signing of the infamous 1938 Nuremberg Laws, the legal basis for the prosecution of Jews that culminated in the holocaust He was relegated to the sidelines as a new crop of Nazi officials began to call the shots in Berlin After the outbreak of World War II, Hitler named Hermann Goering, the head of the *Luftwaffe,* as his deputy Hess stayed deputy party leader, but without real power He took to mountaineering in the Alps!

In view of this record, why was Hess so important that the Soviets wanted to send him to the gallows and denied appeals for clemency? When compared to Albert Speer who organized Hitler's military machine for 'total war' or other Nazi officials who faithfully carried out Hitler's aggressive designs until the very end, but were spared their lives and even gained early release, Hess should have been small change The US was even reluctant to put him on trial

Here the riddle starts Hess was neither given the chance nor, perhaps, did he desire to solve it The answer lies in his mysterious flight to Scotland on May 10, 1941, on an apparently unauthorized, single-handed 'peace-mission'. Was this an act of insanity, a calculated move to avert another disastrous two-front war, or the first audacious resistance to Hitler's megalomania by one of his most loyal followers? We will never know for sure, but the truth is likely to be a combination of all three possible explanations Why did he not show any remorse at Nuremberg and boasted in his defiant final statement that he would do everything all over again?

When studying in Munich, Hess had been an assistant of the German geopolitician Prof Karl Haushofer who had formulated the theory of *Lebensraum* for the German nation which was to be found in the East, the Euroasian heartland Hitler had combined this theory with his innate hatred of Bolshevism and his concept of *Untermenschen,* considering Slavs inferior to the Germanic race In *Mein Kampf* he had spelled out his vision of an Anglo-German alliance that would give Germany a free hand in rooting out Bolshevism and subjugating the slavonic peoples Indeed, Hitler had attempted to bomb England into signing a peace treaty before turning his army against the Soviet Union

Did Hess intend, with his unrealistic mission, to bring about just that — unrealistic because the Battle of Britain was already in full swing? Was he thus faithful to Hitler's original design? At least the Soviets seemed to believe it and, therefore, called for his head while subsequently denying him parole Churchill had Hess examined by Lord Beaverbrook, posing as a psychiatrist, who extracted his hare-brained scheme A secret transcript of their conversations reportedly reached Stalin To him, Rudolf Hess was perhaps the real villain since his ultimate objective was the conquest and dismemberment of the Soviet Union

The British did not consider Hess's plan seriously Or did they, after all? Hess's attorney, Seidl, claims that even the British government opposed his parole on a number of occasions by backing implicitly the Soviet *nyet* If this is true, then we will not know its reasons until at least

thirty years from now, when the British Foreign Office will open its files

Fears that Hess' death in prison will create a tidal wave of nazist sentiment in the Federal Republic are unfounded To be sure, the neonazi fringe groups here and elsewhere now have a 'martyr' and they have tried to cast the iron while it is hot, but without apparent success Even though the former allies will tear down Spandau prison to prevent it from becoming the Mecca of right-wing radicals, they themselves may have planted the seeds by turning Hess into the world's longest serving prisoner If Hess has never broken with the past — there have been many signs that he actually did — he has won a final victory by killing himself with the rope — or electrical cord — that he so narrowly escaped at Nuremberg The tragedy is not that Hess served his sentence but that, humanitarian considerations notwithstanding, he was condemned to die in prison

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CINEMA: A QUARTERLY REVIEW

by David Shipman

SINCE my last two reports to you were fairly grumpy, I come this time in more optimistic mood I was looking, as regular readers will know, at the last London Film Festival and the praise showered on *A Room With a View* As it happened, my survey of the festival would have been considerably more cheerful if I'd had more space so here are reviews of three pictures which I liked very much

Jiri Menzel's *My Sweet Little Village* is based on an affectionate, inventive script — by Zdenek Sverak — to which he has taken as a duck to water It's a group portrait, a rondelay life in the village Two of the chief characters are truckers the driver is a roly-poly family man and his mate a gormless youth who doesn't realise that he has been given a ticket to the always unpopular Romanian films so that his house can be used for some nooky, that the big boss from Prague will try and cheat him out of it as he sees in it the ideal weekend villa. The Czech exporters are promoting the piece by quoting a Western critic who invoked Laurel & Hardy, which is really doing it an injustice

Blake Edwards temporarily deserted his Laurel & Hardy ambitions and turned to himself *'That's Life!'* is at least a family affair, filmed in the Edwards mansion with various members of said family, including wife Julie Andrews — married in the film to Jack Lemmon, presumably playing a version of Edwards himself The result is not as vulgar as most of Edwards's work, and it has Lemmon at his most frantic, bringing nerve and taste to four-letter-words and four-letter-word situations But he is overshadowed by Miss Andrews, who plays with a quiet grace, with serenity, concern and dignity I don't suppose it takes a miracle to play yourself so well, but the effect is something like that

There is a strong personal element in *Un Homme et une Femme Vingt And Déjà,* which is a sequel to you-know-what — Jean-Louis Trintignant reunited with Anouk Aimée twenty years later It's almost as if Trevor Howard bumped into Celia Johnson at that station in later life This is also one of those movies which caught the imagination of the world — whenever you hear the theme music, which is often enough, you're liable to remember Trintignant driving through the rain to its accompaniment There's even a joke about it Much of Claude Lelouch's work is saved only by his humour and his sense of cinema — and that, too, is wonderfully in evidence It's a movie of tricks and surprises, so I'll say no more other than to advise you to see it without reading another word about it

You'll find it on Videocassette After flopping with both critics and public in France and the US Warner Bros declined to release it here. Which brings me back to the theme of my last quarterly review is everyone out of step but our Charley, i e me? Granted that the audience watching Lelouch's film was likely to consist of admirers of the earlier one, it still gave it a sustained burst of applause at the end Lelouch was

nowhere around, yet Francesco Rosi was known to be in the building when I saw *Chronicle of a Death Foretold* and that didn't rate a solitary handclap from a packed house So I was surprised, when it opened later, to read reviews ranging from the respectful to the admiring Rosi, who made *Illustrious Corpses* and *The Mattei Affair,* is in quite a different echelon from Lelouch Perhaps expectations were that much higher. It's based on a work of fiction by the esteemed Gabriel García Márquez, but that's where the trouble lies As so often with Rosi, he starts with a death and works backwards, he's also on familiar ground in dealing with people for whom honour, superstition and loyalty mean more than common sense But there's little this time to respond to beyond local colour (it was filmed in Colombia) The all-important murder of the title is brought about by an accusation which Rosi seems to regard with bemused ambiguity, while the ending would look absurd in a Barbara Cartland novel It's no wonder no one applauded.

And I'm afraid that the division between myself and other reviewers makes this column an unenviable task — especially as I have to write after the event I try not to read the others with any diligence, so as to arrive open-minded, but it seems to me that the following were all well received — and they seemed to me minor efforts An 'A' for trying, and that's it Bertrand Tavernier's *'Round Midnight* has a magisterial performance by Dexter Gordon as an American jazzman washed up in Paris, but it isn't quite sure how he got that way And he's a very nice, harmless drunk In both cases he's to be loved 'Your music changed my life Because of you I discovered Rimbaud', says his disciple Tavernier thinks Hollywood has never done justice to jazz, but sometimes love is not enough Oh gosh, and through it all he's still striving for significance That's a pursuit Martin Scorsese has abandoned, and let us be thankful: but although *The Color of Money* is similarly blessed in its leading performance — I speak of Paul Newman — it falls apart about an hour in It's a sequel to *The Hustler,* and for a while the tacky atmosphere and ethics of the pool hall fascinate all over again; but the narrative doesn't go anywhere You can sense that the makers realised this and lost heart. Doris Dorrie's *Men* is that contradiction in terms, a German comedy When yuppie Julius discovers that his wife is having an affair with a hippie, he moves in with him and subtly begins to turn him into another version of himself It's a quaint idea and convincingly developed but Fraulein Dorrie's jokes are few, and her observation on the relationship of the sexes depressingly banal

Which brings us to *Personal Services,* a thinly-disguised account of the progress of Britain's most famous madam, Cynthia Paine For a while it's quite sharp and amusing as to how she got that way, but you begin to realise that it has no other point of view than that she is a Good Thing Compare it with *Taxi zum Klo,* the only 'mainstream' film I know as frank as this the self-hatred at the end, much as I deplored it, at least justified what we'd seen The modest approval and a childish kick at the evident fact of British hypocrisy do not justify *Personal Services,* which gets sillier

and tamer throughout the second half Rabelaisian it isn't *Belle du Jour* is isn't But I'd be curious to know why virtually all of the madam's clients want to dress in female clothing

In *Children of a Lesser God* — which concludes my round-up of films which got better than they deserve — boy meets girl, boy loses girl, girl returns to boy. Ah, but in this case the girl (Marlee Matlin) is a deaf-mute and the boy (William Hurt) is a teacher of same Perhaps on the stage it was a bruising experience to watch these unlikely people trying to make a go of it together, but the film, as directed by Randa Haines, is mild stuff *'About Last Night* ' has exactly the same plot and, yes again it smacks of desperation and I understand that David Mamet's original play was much more sour, and the central couple much older — and accordingly less cute when making those mistakes we all make when we fall in love Rob Lowe and Demi Moore have sceptical friends, Jim Belushi and Elizabeth Perkins respectively Perhaps that's why they joke all the time, they cloak their uncertainties — sex is the only certainty — in play I've never seen a film so truthful on the way lovers test each other, on coping with living together, on when or whether to make the ultimate commitment Edward Zwick directed, and has wrought one of the few films around to be mentioned in the same breath as the comedies of the past

Another is *Sweet Liberty,* directed and written by Alan Alda, who also stars — as a professor whose historical novel is about to be filmed in the locality. Given the target, a film crew on location, this might have been harsher and funnier We get a half-tear along the way, again emphasising how much Alda's scripts always owe to the films he watched when he was growing up In those days Hollywood liked to have all the roles played by people who could raise a smile, and that's true here Predictably the best of them here are the movie people the male star (Michael Caine), who keeps up a constant round of feats — fencing, flying, getting girls — to ensure that he'll both live up to his movie reputation and be the centre of attraction, his demure, melting leading lady (Michelle Pfeiffer), who undergoes a complete character change when talking business, and the insecure, toadying screenwriter, played by Bob Hoskins much more convincingly than some of those roles he was up for prizes for

I met a lot of people who hadn't heard of either *'About Last Night* ' or *Sweet Liberty* and that's explained to me by my friend Tony Sloman, who works in the industry He says the reviewers simply don't know how to handle solid old-fashioned (i e entertaining) commercial fare They didn't know what to do about *'Crocodile' Dundee* either, but the public had them there, sport, as its star — Paul Hogan — almost says in his tv commercials There was tremendous curiosity about an Australian film which had conquered America Audiences flocked in, and quickly found they were on his — Hogan's — side, against those snobbish, uncouth New Yorkers I must say I found the film's jokes either simple-minded or unsubtle, but the fun was genuine A real crowd-pleaser, and don't overlook the contribution of Linda Kozlowski, who has the cool sexiness and

warm sophistication most pretty blonde actresses try to pretend they have One cheer, at least, for *Three Amigos,* which starts with the sparkling premise of having three movie cowboys (Chevy Chase, Steve Martin, Martin Short) being booted out of their studio and moving off to Mexico to entertain Or so they think In fact, they're required to do for real what they do in make-believe-land In what follows, you can find a couple of dozen famous Westerns being parodied, some much less well than others Randy Newman's three songs, all take-offs, are alone worth the price of admission

Three thrillers, *The Morning After, No Mercy* and *Legal Eagles* are all based, successfully, on old models The first-named, directed by Sidney Lumet, has Jane Fonda as an over-the-hill actress and Jeff Bridges as the handyman who comes to her aid when she finds a body beside her in the bed The two stars team somewhat better than the duo in *Legal Eagles,* which has Robert Redford and Debra Winger as Hepburn-Tracy-like protagonists — opposing lawyers — gradually drawn together as she tries to prove the innocence of one of her clients Both films — the second was directed by Ivan Reitman — offer some far-fetched thrills, and are scary enough without having the heart-pounding situation of Richard Pearce's *No Mercy,* which sets down a cop in New Orleans, out to avenge his partner against the opposition of the local police, and knowing nothing of his enemies except that they would stop at nothing to kill him The odds, in other words, are hopeless, and with someone like Bogart (ah!) instead of the bland Richard Gere this might have been sensational

I've also admired Oliver Stone's *Platoon,* Peter Weir's *The Mosquito Coast* and Margarethe von Trotta's *Rosa Luxemburg* So what's this? A reviewer with little time for other reviewers who puts the season's most serious films into a brief round-up at the end? It's certainly unfair to all the talented people who worked on them, but the truth is that I had trouble with all of them *Platoon* tells it like it was in Vietnam (did you read Richard West's piece in *The Spectator* saying it wasn't?), but the characters remained so one-dimensional that my mind wandered in the second half Harrison Ford in Weir's brave movie was acting superbly, but he's clearly a dingbat from the outset, so I couldn't see why wife Helen Mirren should follow him so blindly As for Rosa, I don't know much about the lady and I usually like to bone-up when confronted with a factual subject I trust readers will forgive me I'm sure you will if you catch some of the films I've recommended

CORRESPONDENCE

A SLOW HAUL APPROACH FOR THE 'MERGED' ALLIANCE

Dear Madam,

Dr. Stephen Haseler's article in *Contemporary Review* (No. 1457, Vol 250), on the separatist future for the SDP, was remarkable because of two factors it displayed Firstly, an accurate perception and prediction of what actually occurred in the June 1987 election, namely a survival of the two-party system in a rough figure ratio of 24 million votes, against 7 million plus for the Alliance and other smaller nationalist parties Secondly, a candid revelation of the separatist, aloof course which Dr Owen and his friends are taking regardless of their own future and of the wider 'merger-debate' outcome

My own, and indeed a Liberal historian's viewpoint, agrees with Dr Haseler's tough observation that the two-party system is rigidly here, alas, to stay for a long time and yet which disagrees with his right-centre, rather than left-centre, approach to overcoming it.

People who are supporters of or sympathetic to the Liberals and Social Democrats have naively indulged themselves in the public delusion that the two-party system will quickly fall apart Certainly, the two-party system is not the historical sanctimony that Tory-Labour mythology makes out It *is* breakable, as the Labour Party's successful displacement in the 1930's of the Liberals as the clear, official opposition shows

Yet the fact remains that the Alliance's high command showed a pathetic inability to respond to the equitable Election media coverage by invariably accepting the Conservative issue of defence or the Labour one of self-advertised protective class revival ('our people', the favourite TV Kinnockite euphemism in their gloss) as the *only* matters to which it should react

However, a belief that the two-party system will survive because of regular practitioners' TV projection skills on a regular basis between UK elections, as well as during them, leads me to differ with Dr Haseler's analysis I worked in four constituencies in the south, the midlands and north-east during the June election The message I derive from the election fighting is that a fourth party along the lines of Dr Haseler's suggestion will be disastrous An Owenite SDP will not succeed in its own right because a 'social market' economic philosophy will not appeal to flirtatious Tories In short, Dr Haseler, for an astute and experienced historian, makes, in my view, the very grievous mistake of believing the current tabloid Thatcherite propaganda

The solution I have for a merged party's radical future, outside the two-party monopoly, is really not at all easy but a long hard haul, based on aggressive hard work at the national level of the kind many tireless Liberal and Social Democratic councillors have been doing at the local level, and one modelled on some of the more attractive features of the Liberal historical record during this populist century Instead of just

prattling on about being a left-of-centre force, the Progressive Liberal and Radical Social Democratic (Labour?) force of the future will have to be one of rousing substance! This will lose, only temporarily, quite a lot of middle-class Alliance voters who think politics can just be nice, cosmetic and indecisive! Or, in other words, that you can funk difficult decisions.

Among other innovations and reforms, we should develop populist co-partnership to mean in industry one vote per shareholder, even for the big institutional boys, which would revitalize lazy economic British management through worker-involvement in their own wealth creativity We should accept the challenge in the one area where the Thatcherites are ruthlessly radical — education. In foreign/defence affairs, the European option still needs drastic furtherance

Even if the Alliance did develop along the lines I have suggested as a constant, alert, integrated fighting unit, it still might not puncture the two-party rigidity by the year 2000! However, I would anticipate that it would certainly accrue more third party electoral gains at the National level than by pursuing Stephen Haseler's let's-copy-the-Tories approach It would also be returning to the Liberals' best left-centre role during this century since the last Liberal Premier

Yours faithfully,

Kirkville, U S A LAURENCE ILES

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION — OR THE REVERSE

Dear Madam,

I read with interest the article, 'Proportional Misrepresentation' by Peter Hain in the July 1987 issue of *Contemporary Review* (Vol 251, No 1458)

I share Peter Hain's misgivings as to what the practical results would be on the introduction of the various PR systems such as STV (Single Transferable Vote List Systems) or the Additional Member System, to which he refers. I think it is essential that we retain our single member constituencies for our parliamentary elections and that the MPs returned should be elected by their local constituents and not be people whose names are put forward by the various party hierachies

But why didn't Peter Hain devote more time to the alternative system which he advocates in place of the present one?

As I understand it, AV — the system which he does advocate — is an abbreviation for The Alternative Vote and would operate in single member constituencies where the constituent can either vote for the candidate of his or her choice *only* or may, if he or she wishes, vote in addition for one or more of the alternative candidates in order of preference after the chosen candidate.

I believe that under this system, if any one candidate receives 50 per

cent plus one or more of the total votes cast, that candidate is elected but if not, the second preferences for each candidate are added to their respective votes to try and find a candidate with at least 50 per cent plus one of the votes and, if still no result, the third preferences are added and so on, if necessary right down the line of preferences until a candidate with a majority vote is found If there is still no winning candidate under this procedure, then presumably the candidate with the maximum number of votes after counting all preferences is elected

In the last example, i e in the case of no candidate having an absolute majority after all preferences had been counted, and in the hypothetical — but most unlikely — case of all voting constituents inserting all their preferences in their ballot papers, the result would be that *all* candidates had an equal number of votes, which would make nonsense of the whole procedure

I imagine therefore that the different preferences would all have a different score of votes, e g one for the last possible preference, two for the next preference up and so on in ascending order

However the AV system, as I envisage it, lends itself to so many possible anomalies, that I would welcome a clear-cut and detailed description of exactly how this system works and where, if anywhere, it is now in operation

Yours faithfully,

Thames Ditton, Surrey HUGH BUNBURY

Literary Supplement

QUARTERLY FICTION REVIEW

by Rosalind Wade

Frozen Music Francis King Hutchinson £7 95 *Out of the Whirlpool* Alan Sillitoe Hutchinson £6 95 *Cuts* Malcolm Bradbury Hutchinson £6 95 *A Friend from England* Anita Brookner Cape £10 95 *A Shadow Between Us* Robert Rubens Bachman & Turner £9 95 *Chatterton* Peter Ackroyd Hamish Hamilton £10 95

Over the years, the short novel has not been considered a viable proposition The library reading public, it was argued, demanded the length and breadth only possible through the use of several hundred printed pages Even an established novelist such as George Eliot found that a couple of short novels — among her best — dismayed her faithful publisher, William Blackwood, who remained convinced that the three-volume formula was best suited for success Yet now, to celebrate their centenary year in publishing, Hutchinson have launched an ambitious programme in the shape of a series of specially commissioned novellas, all the work of well-known authors, finely presented and each one lavishly illustrated by different artists, the general editor of the series being Frank Delaney Several have already appeared more are to come, and the question arises as to whether the tighter discipline and a firm contract has resulted in a satisfactory response to the challenge or merely an expansion of what might otherwise have emerged as a short story

Most satisfying so far is *Frozen Music* by Francis King, set in India, a scene already explored by him with such memorable effect in the vivid and terrifying *Act of Darkness*

In *Frozen Music,* the action is contained in a strictly limited time-span, during the visit of three ill-assorted people and their Indian driver to the unattractive small township of Balram The expedition has a special purpose The oldest member of the party, Philip, wishes to inspect his wife's grave, which he has not seen since she died just before World War II He is a frail and ailing man, not really up to the gruelling journey With him are his disillusioned and recently divorced son, Rupert, who, by means of intuitive reportage and numerous flashbacks, serves as narrator, and Philip's attractive Finnish wife, Kirsti, many years his junior There is little comfort to be had on arrival at Balram for the main hotel is too full to accommodate them and the alternative is an unsavoury place in which to eat and sleep Nostalgic expeditions follow, including a visit to friends who had 'stayed on' and come to love the unlovable Balram

For both the father, Philip, who lost his wife so many years ago, and the son, Rupert, bereaved at such an early age, it is a painful period of readjustment and for Kirsti could have been one of embarrassment, had she not possessed a resilient and resourceful spirit Not unexpectedly, Philip soon succumbs to an indigenous bug, thus throwing Kirsti and Rupert into closer personal proximity Their clandestine visit to the local cemetry is conveyed with notable sensitivity and all that is revealed by the headstone and its immed-

iate neighbour would be almost unbearably poignant but for the sharp humour with which the torrid and deteriorating situation is observed Of course, Rupert and Kirsti have by this time become deeply attracted to each other, of course, they are deeply concerned about the pain this will cause Philip — yet in the final chapter all is resolved — how, where and when is not revealed and perhaps the reader's unsatisfied desire to know more about the transition period is the only casualty of the restricted novella length The illustrator is Patrick Proctor, whose fine drawings are an additional bonus

With *Out of the Whirlpool* the result is not nearly so satisfactory, for the impression given is that Alan Sillitoe has not only returned to the background of some of his early successes but has sought to re-write the mood and characters of *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* without necessarily having anything new to say about them Thus we have the disorientated and disgruntled Peter Granby who, caught in the trap of the industrial Midlands in a crude home provided by his grandmother and her 'live-in' friend, Len, has never had a chance to improve his way of life But when, by the merest chance, he meets Eileen Farnsfield, a widow and a wealthy woman in her own right, he is at last on the way up, appointed manager and caretaker of a group of holiday bungalows on the bleak part of the Essex coast and with the opportunity to drive his employer's car His experiences are rich with humour Peter Granby lacks even rudimentary table manners so that it is fine sport for the affluent Eileen to teach her protegé a veneer of social good behaviour, and, as she has been sexually deprived since the death of her elderly husband, it comes as no surprise that the two lonely though disparate souls are soon to enjoy a passionate physical relationship But before long, Eileen tires of her unsophisticated partner, seeking another lover more polished and well-positioned Whereupon, stripped of both income and living quarters, Peter Granby is no better off than when he first encountered Eileen He attempts a return to his old home and mode of living, only to learn that Granny is dead and Len in hospital (Yes, we are back in the all-too-familiar world of hospital wards and day-rooms) His self-confidence rapidly evaporates and he gets the worst of a meaningless brawl As a result he is blinded — or isn't he? It is difficult to be certain, for once again the need for a quick finish leaves the *dénouement* ambiguous and unresolved Peter Farmer's imaginative illustrations may be seen as a very definite asset for *Out of the Whirlpool*

Cuts offers no such problems Beautifully printed and designed, with a cover picture and illustrations by Tom Phillips, it is an acute send-up of the situation in which a number of vital 'cuts' are being imposed on schools, hospitals, universities, as well as, in this case, TV scripts, all conveyed in Malcolm Bradbury's most scintillating and hilarious style The central character, Henry Babbacombe, has the unexpected opportunity to write a television play earmarked for 'hyping', even though the essentials of the plot and characters have yet to be formally agreed Although he recognises that the assignment will destroy his integrity as an author and his academic career, he has little option but to accept His experiences in an alien world are hair-raising yet not incredible Portraits of people in the 'real' world, such as the professor at his university, only too glad to be painlessly rid of a superfluous lecturer (another 'cut'), are extremely funny Yet there is little warmth in the humour, for Henry Babbacombe is so spiritless and unlovable that one cannot feel sympathy for him when things on the production floor begin to go hopelessly awry. Even more so when the satire veers off-course during fantastic events in Switzerland where 'shooting' is about to take place Yet despite these misgivings, *Cuts* will

be warmly welcomed for its succinct fun

To turn to *A Friend from England* is like substituting an effervescent drink for an astringent cocktail Anita Brookner has long been acclaimed for her distinctive prose style and merciless observation of human frailty With the Booker McConnell 1984 fiction prize for *Hotel dû Lac* behind her, it has sometimes seemed that in that subtle and evocative piece of work she had reached the summit of her achievement If a general criticism could be made, it was in her choice of main or central characters — women who remained resolutely aloof from ordinary human emotion, controlled, self-effacing, nearing middle-aged for whom there was not much hope of better things to come But in *A Friend from England* Rachel, the narrator, belongs to a younger age-group — a mere twenty seven years old — although true to Brookner tradition, she is already obsessively concerned with evading any disruptive or inhibiting ties Thus, she is the ideal observer of the Livingstones, an uncompromisingly suburban family, positively brimming over with friendliness and warmth

Rachel is an orphan, in need of occasional business guidance and so, although retired, Mr Livingstone continues to oversee her affairs in the privacy of his Wimbledon home And so begin Rachel's much valued and regular visits to the over-heated villa in which relations gather for formal tea parties, followed by sherry and innocuous chit-chat Yet for the Livingstones, there is to be a *quid pro quo* Rachel is expected to serve as mentor and confidante for their only daughter, Heather, who, though she has her own flat and runs a boutique, shows no disposition to marry and settle down Heather is a complex character, given to 'mulish silences', yet eventually she confounds her well-wishers by marrying an obviously undesirable young man, a confirmed homosexual, burdened by a truly awful father It is only a matter of months before Heather cuts herself adrift from the ill-fated union

The change-over is accomplished with the minimum of practical detail and it is not long before Heather bestows her affections elsewhere — this time on an even more unlikely partner — an Italian, brother of a recently encountered dress designer, a person seemingly out of Heather's world and that of the Livingstone clan Once again, Rachel is conveniently cast in the role of envoy and counsellor and duly sets off to Venice to seek either some news or to negotiate a return to the fold Unfortunately, before Heather's departure, Rachel committed the unforgivable sin of speaking her mind, belabouring Heather with some unpleasant home-truths based, it is tempting to suspect, on sub-conscious jealousy Although Heather may appear not to have taken offence, things can obviously never be the same again and so, after a very brief meeting, the friends part forever While Heather finds fulfilment in her new milieu Rachel returns to a barren existence in which she promises to become another true-to-form emotional cripple If Heather's translation into marriage and emancipation sometimes seems insufficiently explored, the reader's gratitude is for the subtle and brilliant displays of the opening chapters, as well as for the interesting forays into more serious themes and situations

Robert Rubens also is a specialist in the 'observer' character, although his jokes are of a more exuberant kind and occasionally, as in *A Shadow Between Us,* tip over into pure farce Here once again, we have an astute onlooker, ready to survey with humour and tolerance a world peopled by eccentrics, well provided — mostly — with the wherewithal for a comfortable existence And those who have no money soon acquire wealth without too much difficulty Set in the art world, which Robert Rubens knows so well, it is an engaging

study, for the characters, even if sometimes larger than life, are persuasively likeable

It is tempting to leave until last Peter Ackroyd's new novel, *Chatterton* Peter Ackroyd, recognised as one of the leading younger novelists, was the recipient of the *Guardian* Fiction Award and Whitbread Prize in 1985 for *Hawksmoor,* remarkable for a juggling with time and place to a degree which was often quite disorientating Now, in *Chatterton,* he employs the same techniques, although in a very different setting from the Hawksmoor city churches and the inhabitants of adjacent streets For more than two centuries the debate has continued as to whether Thomas Chatterton should have been condemned as an unscrupulous plagiarist or celebrated as a child prodigy Not in question are the few facts that he discovered, in a Bristol church muniment room, rhymes and fables of an earlier age and wove them into a sequence purported to be written by a medieval poet, one 'Rowley' There remains a mystery element Why should a young man of such promise, spreading his wings in London after leaving his native Bristol, even though temporarily reviled, go to the length of obtaining arsenic and so condemn himself to such a hideous death — one certainly not acknowledged in the painting by the Victorian artist, William Wallis, for which the model was George Meredith It is this conundrum which concerns Peter Ackroyd, and to solve it he has positioned the squalid aspects of life in 1770 in juxtaposition to the humdrum existence of an elderly 20th century novelist, Harriet Scrope, and a young poet, Charles Wychwood, both sucked into the maelstrom of conjecture through the acquisition of a painting which *could* have been Chatterton in middle life — had he lived! And why, indeed, could his death *not* have been faked and the field left free for Chatterton *incognito* to make money from those of his writings believed to have been published posthumously?

It is an ingenious theory, and the only regret is that more space has not been allotted to investigating it Far too many pages are devoted to Harriet Scrope, the repellent septegenarian novelist, and the unhappy Charles Wychwood, a poet *manqué* for whom Chatterton became an obsession Charles's premature death requires that others continue on the trail It is left to a statement assumed to have been written by Chatterton himself to provide the credible suggestion that he purchased arsenic and laudanum as a cure for venereal disease This, at any rate, is in line with the proven facts — and the impression given is that Peter Ackroyd agrees with them Yet a strong supernatural undertow in *Chatterton* persists with the illusion that Charles and Thomas were destined to be linked in eternity 'We Poets in our youth' Chatterton calls across the infinite abyss, 'begin in gladness but thereof come in the end to despondence and madness I will live forever ' These words contain the heart of Peter Ackroyd's fantasy, for when Chatterton's contorted body was found in the forlorn attic bedroom, we are told that he was still smiling which he could not have been, bearing in mind the agony and horror of the particular method of death

Also Received

Sandmouth People Ronald Frame The Bodley Head £11 95

Despite the trend to short novels and novellas there remains a public demand for the full length saga *Sandmouth People* — running to nearly five hundred pages — will meet this need Not a family history, for the action covers only one day, it is a detailed account of much — even all — that goes on in a small, unidentified southcoast seaside town seen through the eyes of a range of very varied characters

NON FICTION REVIEWS

ANTHONY TROLLOPE'S GROWTH IN REPUTATION

Trollope Interviews and Recollections Edited by R C Terry. Macmillan. £25 00

Few authors have enjoyed such a tremendous growth in reputation as Anthony Trollope When he died in 1882, the popularity of his novels seemed on the decline and he had been earning far less by his pen than he had at the height of his fame in the 1860s and 1870s *The Times'* obituary, while giving high praise to his books, doubted whether they would be remembered a century later It is a delightful irony that the works of Mrs Humphrey Ward, who wrote that obituary, now receive little attention outside the narrow confines of the doctoral thesis while Anthony Trollope's novels delight people throughout the world

A cursory glance at any paperback catalogue will show how popular Trollope is both in Britain and America Recently a project was begun by the newly formed Trollope Society to bring out a complete edition of his novels no mean feat as he wrote almost fifty

Yet, in spite of this surge in popularity, there is still no satisfactory biography Trollope's first biographer, T H S Escott (who was editor of *The Fortnightly* which is now incorporated in this journal) remains in many ways the most satisfactory He had the great benefit of knowing Trollope However, he wrote his book quite late in life and he did not pay too much attention to accuracy Many will remember Michael Sadleir's book which did so much to promote the revival of Trollope but this elegant and charming work is now somewhat dated.

Trollope has been mercifully spared a second burial at the hands of the zanier variety of literary critics who have done so much to destroy a love of literature among cultivated people by turning it into a compendium of pyschological and sociological jargon On the whole they have passed by Anthony Trollope as he normally exhausts even their attempts to dredge up snippets of Marxism or feminism from innocent and dead authors

Professor Terry of the University of Victoria, British Columbia has provided us with a delightful anthology of first-hand impressions of Trollope as a person This is part of a superb series in which readers can discover how their favourite authors appeared to those who knew them Previous volumes have included Trollope's contemporaries and friends, Dickens and Thackeray Most of the selections chosen by Professor Terry come from old autobiographies or vanished periodicals

Fortunately one Victorian periodical still flourishes, *The Contemporary Review* and from the issue of August 1884, Professor Terry has unearthed a delightful story recounted by Amelia Edwards She was talking with her fellow novelist about one of Trollope's most celebrated characters, Lily Dale: 'Why *did* you let Crosbie jilt Lily Dale?' 'Why did I "let" him?' asked Trollope 'How could I help it? He would do it, confound him!' A little anecdote like this is worth scores of articles about the theory of novel-writing

Some of the selections come from well known writers such as Thackeray and Hawthorne, both of whom became Trollope's close friends Others come from equally close friends whose names are no longer remembered such as the

Rev. Lucas Collins or Donald Macleod A particularly welcome feature of this book is the emphasis given to recollections by various members of the Trollope family including his elder brother and his grand-daughter Professor Terry is to be congratulated for placing considerable emphasis in his own useful introduction on Rose Trollope As he says, we catch only fleeting glimpses of her both in this book and in the recent edition of Trollope's letters Yet anyone who reads Trollope's works and life with attention can see her influence throughout.

Professor Terry's selection is a judicious one He gives us the opinions of those who found Trollope coarse or vulgar as well as those who admired and even loved him He gives us stories from both aspects of Trollope's life the hard working Post Office official and the highly prolific novelist Almost all agree that he was loud and tempestuous At times his temper would grow so fierce that he would take to biting his handkerchief in his rage His voice dominated any room that he entered Yet the overwhelming impression produced by reading these selections is that Trollope was a kind and splendid figure. He seemed, like his books, the very embodiment of the Englishman

RICHARD MULLEN

THE THIRD ORDER OF REALITY

The Unknown Guest Brian Inglis Chatto & Windus £12.95

Intuition, the 'Unknown Guest'— the description is Nobel laureate Maurice Maeterlinck's — is the subject of Mr Inglis' probing book, which expressly sets out as a pilot study designed less to answer baffling questions than to show the need to ask them Guide, goad, hidden persuader, the prompter in the wings, however one qualifies the strange unbidden and unbiddable force, it belongs firmly within the range of human experiences which lie just outside the territory of conventional science This is an area which Mr Inglis has been exploring for many years now, and his guidance is both clear and expert He does not see intuition as a psychic phenomenon, although its effects may frequently appear to be psychic The experiencing of what seems like a *personal* intervention, something beyond the inexorable force of Fate, has been a sufficiently universal occurrence to be identified as the promptings of the good and bad fairies of folklore — or the workings of the guardian angels and besetting demons of Christian belief

The 'Unknown Guest' takes many forms It is the voices heard by Joan of Arc, the protective guiding hand felt by Winston Churchill, the music of whole symphonies supersensorily 'heard' by Mozart and Stravinsky, the dictating daemon of Kipling, the revelatory flash experienced by Archimedes and Einstein It is the daemon, Jung's 'diamon', inspiration, the writer's, composer's and artist's Muse, and the 'Eureka Effect', performing the Muse's function for scientists and mathematicians All these labels describe it — but do not define it Mr Inglis is at commendable pains to emphasise our present lack of secure definition He presents current theory for consideration, and most ably marshalls the evidence and testimonies upon which informed speculation may be based Koestler's concept of the third order of reality, for example First, there is the narrow world of sensory perception Secondly, certain related phenomena which the senses dot not perceive — such as ice magnetic field The third order, enveloping, interpenetrating and giving meaning to the second,

contains 'occult' phenomena inexplicable on either sensory or conceptual levels.

Frederic Myers' hypothesis of the subliminal mind strikes Mr Inglis as being of significance in this context Myers believed that it had access to information beyond the sensory range of normalcy, providing the supranormal faculties of telepathy and telekinesis Mr Inglis favours Dame Edith Lyttelton's hazard that because of the problems which the superconscious self faces in getting its information through to us, it is compelled to resort to ruses such as automatism and hallucination

This is a well-ordered book, bringing extraordinary clarity to a normally hazy sphere of conjecture It is in no way aggressively evangelising The concepts tentatively proffered call for a good deal of shuffling of the notional cards which conventionally received thinking has dealt us, but the intellectual benefit of such readjustment could, for many uncertain people, prove a highly satisfactory hand

RICHARD WHITTINGTON-EGAN

THEY ORDER THIS MATTER BETTER IN FRANCE

W Somerset Maugham The Critical Heritage Edited by Anthony Curtis and John Whitehead Routledge & Kegan Paul £25 00

The Old Master, sad gargoyle of Cap Ferrat, finds himself now in excellent company as he undergoes the treatment of the *Critical Heritage* series How he would have both relished, and flinched from, the juxtaposition of contrary judgment which is the feature of this particular volume Cyril Connolly considered Somerset Maugham 'a great writer determined to tell the truth in a form which releases all the possibilities of his art' It was, in contrast, Lytton Strachey, the editors remind us in their generous and enlightening Introduction to the critical extracts, who described Maugham's work as 'Class Two, Division One' (Funnily enough, the same could be said of Lytton Strachey's total output) Anthony Curtis and John Whitehead have selected wisely and cunningly, so that the duality of opinion is perfectly balanced Thus, H E Bates argues that Maugham 'has no heart, and in place of that heart one has the impression that he uses a piece of clockwork' whereas Connolly believes that 'his cynicism masked a compassion of which he was almost ashamed' V S Pritchett (probably slightly tongue-in-cheek) challenges even the received reference to Maupassant, preferring a comparison with Mérimée's 'richness', and remarks the way in which Maugham 'like Mérimée injects irony to close subjects, to paralyse wounds'

Ever more honoured abroad, especially in France and the United States, than in his own country, Maugham complained in *The Summing Up,* 'In my twenties the critics said I was brutal, in my thirties they said I was flippant, in my forties they said I was cynical, and in my fifties they said I was competent, and then in my sixties they said I was superficial' The two great faults in Maugham's writings, judged as literature, are the lack of Wellsian 'Big Think', and the shallowness of his prose, lacking in metaphor or visual imagery, littered with disappointing clichés Maugham himself, although he had a 'teleological obsession' (S N Behrman) constantly disavowed any intention to be other than an entertainer, a professional cutting his capers on the pier of life He was aware of the plainness of his style — 'nature has not endowed me with the happy gift of hitting instinctively upon the perfect word to indicate an object

and the unusual, but apt, adjective to describe it'

The editors, in their capacity as Devil's Advocates, have no difficulty in bringing forward refutations of dispraising views on Maugham's philosophy and style J D Scott, for example, goes to a great deal of trouble to demonstrate the aptness of the line — 'She was as white as a sheet' — 'the sheet is not any sheet, it is the particular adulterous sheet from which Kitty has just risen'

Edmund Wilson's resounding indictment is very telling — 'Mr Maugham, whose use of words is banal, has no personal rhythm at all, nor can he create for us a poetic world' His analysis of Maugham's inability to realize what there is in Proust is devastating As for Maugham's famous 'cynicism', which may or may not 'conceal his lack of any real philosophy' (Rebecca West), a loose term which he bore on his shoulders as wearily as Elgar suffered his *Land of Hope and Glory,* the reader is recommended to Desmond MacCarthy's memorable definitions in a *New Statesman* review of *The Circle,* which include the sentence — 'In the aquarium of life he sees aristocratic sharks, humble greedy pike, gorgeous octopuses, fair drifting jelly-fish, and occasionally he notices a flat, good-natured sole at the bottom of the tank who is content to lie modestly in the sand.'

Whereas the *Critical Heritage* volume dealing with, say, Gerard Manley Hopkins (recently reviewed in these columns) leaves Hopkins still a whole continent unexplored, this present compilation, in which many good and sometimes sympathetic critics have wrestled to squeeze every droplet of significance from their subject, leaves one with the feeling that the discussion of Somerset Maugham is utterly exhausted And that is no bad thing — the editors have done their job

MOLLY TIBBS

A LIFE IN EDUCATION

Encounters with Education Lionel Elvin University of London, Institute of Education £9 95

Lionel Elvin's life has covered most of this century, and most of it has been involved in education Now in retirement he talks about education as he has known it His private life and his interests outside education are mentioned only incidentally, but he reflects on his own experience, and the tone is conversational those who know the author can imagine they hear his voice He has encountered education in many different circumstances, and so the book is rewarding to dip into as well as to read through It gives a historical perspective to many questions of current interest

His own education is related in the first part of the book He acknowledges a great debt to his home and gives an appreciative account of an elementary school at the beginning of the century He nearly missed secondary education, but his parents decided that somehow or other they would find the fees to send him to the local high school set up under the 1902 Education Act After a year he was awarded a scholarship and did well in the school, eventually winning an Open Scholarship at Cambridge

The older universities in between the wars were still largely the preserves of students from independent schools, but Elvin was well able to hold his own and eventually became a Fellow of his college In recent years he has lived in

Cambridge and been elected an Honorary Fellow This connection of over half a century with the college gives special interest to his chapters on Cambridge

A long association with the USA began when as an undergraduate he visited American universities as a member of a Cambridge Union Society debating team On graduating he spent two years at Yale as a Commonwealth Fellow

A few years as Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, took him into education for workers in mid-career, and then he went to Paris as Director of the UNESCO Department of Education His judicious, though not uncritical, view of UNESCO is a valuable contribution to debate on British policy towards that organisation in recent years His work there brought him into contact with education in the Third World, to which he devotes a chapter in the book Later in his career he served on a Government of India Education Committee, and he has some interesting things to say about that In Paris he learned a good deal about France, and there is a chapter entitled Two Encounters with French Education

The last sixteen years of his professional career were spent at the University of London Institute of Education He was a very successful Director and left the Institute stronger than it was when he joined it He had one disappointment, however He was a member of the Robbins Committee on Higher Education and fought hard for its recommendations which affected teacher education It proposed that teacher education should be brought right into the universities But that was not to be The bureaucracy was against it Instead teacher training was taken right out of the influence of universities, the clock was put back to before 1944 when colleges of education became associated with universities Much that the London Institute stood for was lost But Elvin is hopeful that the ideas for which he fought will come back in some way

BRUCE PATTISON

AMERICA'S STATE OF MIND

The Closing of the American Mind How Higher Education has failed democracy and impoverished the souls of today's students Allan Bloom Simon and Schuster $18 95

This is one of the most searching, and disturbing, of recent analyses of America's 'state of mind' to appear in the last decade It can be read, casually, and especially its first section, as a comment solely on American higher education Those whom Professor Bloom has taught — in Chicago, Cornell, Yale and Toronto — are, he says, 'nice' because totally open to every passing whim, little read in the classics and thus cliché-addicted, products of 'the technical smorgasbord of the school system' but profoundly under-educated 'Country, religion, family, ideas of civilization, all the sentimental and historic forces that stood between cosmic infinity and the individual, providing some notion of a place within the whole, have been rationalized and have lost their compelling force In the universities about which I am speaking, there are almost no students born of families that have inherited the privilege and responsibility of public service, for almost no such families remain' The rampant individualism that now prevails is in fact the triumph of indiscriminateness, and hides moral emptiness It has weakened the holding-power of family life, made uncommitted sex and easy divorce both available and acceptable, 'liberated' women, and grievously weakened the marriage tie. Only the blacks, he argues,

have been immune As quotas and black studies (part of which he regards as 'unprofitable hokum') came in, along with racially-motivated hiring of faculty, and difficulty in giving black students fail grades, nevertheless grievances remain, and blacks in Universities are, in essence, and largely by their own choice, still segregated

This is more, however, than a description and an indictment of a student generation, or a lament for the decline of the study of literature and the classics It is a searching analysis of America's faith in shibboleths, and of its near-meaningless incantation of the words 'freedom' and 'rights' It is an indictment of the politics of Locke and Hobbes Professor Bloom's own guides are Plato and de Tocqueville He sees the causes of the profound change in the spread to North America of vulgarised European notions of relativism and despair, of nihilism disguised as tolerance, of the steady infiltration of the ideas of Nietzsche and Heidegger, and not least of Freud And his asides are equally revealing as his main theme on the superiority of French higher education (particularly, the greater extent of sustained reading), and American dependence on German knowledge and interpretation of Greece and Rome, Judaism and Christianity Not only in her Universities but outside them, the U S no longer provides the knowledge of that tradition of philosophy and literature that is basic to serious, humane learning

There is much here for reflection, in a book that is beautifully written and quietly persuasive For much that is here holds true also of Britain Here too faculty surrender too readily to youth, in part to attract numbers, but in total defiance of that older tradition of the *magister*, of the *dominus* and of the 'Herr Professor' In Britain, in some public schools, in some of those (too few) grammar schools that survive, and in a few of the older Universities, there is still a faith in, and a place for, classics and for genuine learning, and one would like to think that there is in Britain (perhaps more than in the U S ?) a sense of public service that is not merely related to careers in law, accountancy and applied economics But, here as there, the same forces are at work the proliferation of pseudo-subjects, the growth at all levels of the easy options, the vulgarisation and politicisation of sociology At least there is to be in Britain in due course, unions permitting, a national curriculum, which will offer a brake But here too technology is the jargon-word The D E S and its Inspectors should have copies of this book issued to them, and the money for them should be found by dropping the rash of study groups for this and that, and Blue Books galore

ESMOND WRIGHT

SHAW'S SAINT JOAN

Playing Joan Actresses on the Challenge of Shaw's Saint Joan Holly Hill Theatre Communications Group, New York. $10 95

The volume entitled *Playing Joan* consists of a collection of twenty-six interviews with famous actresses who have played the character in important productions on both sides of the Atlantic The interviews, carried out and transcribed by Holly Hill, the New York theatre correspondent of *The Times* of London, were inspired by her own attempts when a young actress to portray the heroine of Shaw's play and by the fact that she has for many years felt that the part was as complex for women to play as Hamlet is for men.

The particular interest of this book lies in the fact that it can be of equal importance to both actors and writers of plays An intrinsic difficulty faced by any interpreter of the role of Joan of Arc is, as Holly Hill points out, that each member of the audience has preconceived notions of what Joan must have been like, notions based on emotive rather than rational ideas. And that the Shaw text gives away very little in terms of the 'wise, courageous, far-sighted, intensely human' girl who nevertheless became a saint presents a further dilemma An inner spiritual surge of religious emotion can be shown less clearly by words on the page than in their interpretation by the actress, on whom the play's whole meaning must therefore depend

The roll-call of players who consented to be interviewed on this subject is impressive All of them, from the late Elisabeth Bergner (who played in the Max Reinhardt production of 1924) to Eileen Atkins (at the Old Vic between 1977 and 79) and Lynn Redgrave (in Chicago and New York in 1977-78), found it necessary to explain what Shaw's text had meant to them, as well as to describe their own personal insight into a character whose qualities had to be made to shine through the spoken words

The resulting collection is a most valuable account of what it means to bring to the stage a personality whose presence there embodies the hopes and fears of whole nations at a particular historical, and historic, moment Holly Hill has written an enlightened and illuminating book.

BETTY ABEL

SHORTER REVIEWS

South Africa Crisis (Croom Helm £19 95) This volume of eleven specialist contributions by mainly academics is published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and edited with chapters by Jesmond Blumenfield The Institute itself, of course, has no opinions of its own The contributions include. the Economy under Siege by the Editor, Apartheid by Merle Lipton, and the Larger outlook of the White Oligarchy and the difficulties of a settlement, by Stanley Uys and J E Spence. Robin Smith wrote his piece on The Black Trade Unions, From Economics to Politics, before the recent coal strike by the N U M That with the unexpected strength and leadership of the union serves to confirm the conclusion that Trade Union strength means political as well as industrial power There are two articles on constitutional problems by Murray Forsyth and Adrian Guelke Peter Vale writes on regional policy In Political Violence and the Security Response, Simon Baynham reaches the sombre but almost inevitable conclusion that for the moment 'a conclusion does not appear to be in sight But few doubt that ultimately it will be decided *vi et armis*' Writing on the Black Opposition, Martin Meredith refers to the revival of the ANC It 'succeeded in re-establishing itself at the centre of gravity in black politics and acquiring increasing international credibility' However, he concludes that 'yet much of its success was more apparent than real' In a volume of this kind there is inevitably a certain amount of overlapping and differences of emphasis Nonetheless it contains a great deal of valuable material and views upon the South African situation

Bix Speak (Harrap £5 95 paperback) This 'dictionary of business terms, slang and jargon', compiled by Rachel S Epstein and Nina Liebman

was first published in America in 1986, covers some 2,000 words common in international business, including finance The volume also contains the slang of fifteen different fields Slang is defined as 'the words and acronyms that have developed as a form of shorthand either to save time or to keep out newcomers' Curiously there is no definition of jargon which can mean many different things to different people This is certainly a useful dictionary An added advantage in a subsequent edition would be the inclusion of apparently quite simple words which have additional legal meanings Examples are 'property' and 'premises' there are many others This addition could greatly assist the layman in appreciating more easily the contents of legal documents

Rumour of Heaven (Virago Modern Classics £3 95) Beatrix Lehmann, sister of the novelist Rosamund and the critic John Lehmann, was one of the most successful actresses of the 1920s and 30s Gillian Tindall has written an informed and perceptive introduction to this novel, one of two published by Beatrix The heroine, Miranda Mirova, is the finest dancer of her generation Together with her literary husband she dominates the cultural scene in London, Paris and Rome After the birth of her first child, however, Miranda retreats into a private world, takes refuge in domestic country life and refuses to dance again Her early death leaves three children destined to live out the neuroses which are their mother's legacy Paul, the son, emerges as a shattered survivor of World War I The search for a hiding place (a South Sea Island or its Mediterranean counterpart) carried on by all the children into adult life has Utopian overtones Whilst the youngest child, Viola, reads and aptly quotes *Wuthering Heights* the others discuss further possibilities of escape into fantasy Complex and confused, the novel has at best a doubtful claim to be republished as a 'classic' of this or any other age, although Gillian Tindall puts up a reasonable case for its survival as an example of authentic pastiche

A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (Fontana. £6 95) This admirable study by Professor T C Smout was first published in 1969 and has now received its seventh impression as a Fontana paperback, fully illustrated There is a short Introduction on the Middle Ages 1050-1560 Perhaps Professor Smout will produce a full study as a separate volume on this earlier period In 1986 this first volume was followed by *A Century of the Scottish People, 1930-1950* (£6 95) now also published as a Fontana paperback This new study has deliberately a somewhat limited field as a social history 'This book is an exploration of that complex world of deprivation and social division. it aims to show what life was like for most Scottish people' On the other hand 'there is little about artistic or intellectual endeavour', 'nothing about the Scottish emigrees' and 'not even a balanced picture of the Scottish political scene' He has concentrated on 'the politics of the working class' For what it is, the book is worthy of close attention Furthermore, Professor Smout has a remarkable capacity for expressing his scholarship with clarity and simplicity which is so well suited to the general reader

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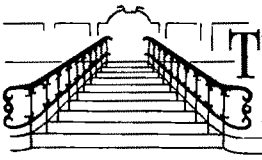

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NOVEMBER 1987

XIZANG — THE TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS REGION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Thomas Stapleton

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Richard Cottrell, MEP

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Paul Greer

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XIZANG — THE TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS REGION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

by Thomas Stapleton

HAVING tried for many years to visit Tibet, it was not until last year that I obtained the necessary approval from the Chinese authorities Tibet, known as Xizang by the Chinese, is an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China. Before going, I read about it as widely as I could While many articles reflect a common view — namely that it had been an idyllic place with a happy population living a life based on Buddhist principles with the Dalai Lama as a revered spiritual and temporal leader — perusal of the accounts of British explorers in the earlier half of this century reveals a situation very different.

While they describe the magnificent scenery, the picturesqueness of the clothes, the symbols of religion and the remarkable botanical finds, they also quietly recorded some less pleasant aspects of life. A British botanist described how a group arrived at a monastery tired after a long day's trekking. In due course, the lama met them and bid them welcome. After the customary formalities, the visitors told the lama that just outside the gate they had seen a very sick young man, perhaps he would like to send someone to help him The lama informed them that the man had just received three hundred lashes for some alleged misdeed

On another occasion, the botanist recorded a meeting with the Governor of a province:

> The Governor turned to me, and spoke blandly — "Shall we go outside?" In the yard two lictors (policemen) leant carelessly against a pole, they had dropped their *chupas* (Tibetan gowns) from their shoulders — rolled up their sleeves, baring brawny arms — in the dust lay a length of rope and two long raw-hide whips with cane handles 'A hundred today', said the Governor suavely, 'and a hundred each day until he speaks the truth', a man sat squatting cross-legged clasping him tightly round the neck . there was no doubt that the man who lay in the dust could not move — he was held in a vice — one of the *lictor's* pulled the allegedly untruthful witness's *chupa* up over his body baring his buttocks Thwack thwack The whips, wielded by powerful arms, whistled through the air and fell with a sharp crack quickly one after the other . except for the crack of the whips, and the calling of the count, there was no sound but the wild moaning of the witness who having received his hundred stripes was left to crawl away ..' (From *A Plant Hunter in Tibet* by F Kingdon Ward 1934).

The following account also may be of interest:

> Just in front of this building (City Hall) I noticed two ringed stones fastened in the ground several feet apart I wondered what these could be used for. I was

> soon to find out. A woman was dragged out by several petty officials She was stripped of every stitch of clothing and thrown on the ground. Her arms were tied to one ring and her feet to the other Two men began to flog her, giving her 150 lashes in all she fainted away water was thrown over her to revive consciousness, and then the grisly work began again' (From *To Lhasa in Disguise* by W. Montgomery McGovern 1924)

and a Tibetan writing in 1957 records that:

> Many Tibetans were keen to see their country become modern, but the monks and the backwardness of Tibet held this up Many Tibetans, and especially those who have come into contact with the outside world, are in love with the modern way of life which is capturing the world, and have fallen under its spell. Cars, neon lights, radios, electric gadgets, hygienic surroundings, cinemas, gay restaurants, cosmetics, and, last but certainly not the least, lavatories with flush systems!' (Tsewang Y Pemba *Young Days in Tibet* 1957).

My first seven days in modern Xizang were spent at the Lhasa Hotel with piped oxygen at the bedside for those who needed it because of the altitude (since May 1986 the hotel has been run by Holiday Inns); two nights at an agricultural college 400 kilometres to the east of Lhasa and eight days as the guest of the People's Liberation Army in the General Hospital of Xizang Command Speaking neither Tibetan nor Chinese, I had to place reliance on what I saw and experienced, and on conversations held with those who spoke English, or who talked through those who could. These included a Han (Chinese) laboratory technician from the Medical Research Institute in Lhasa, doctors — both Tibetan and Han — who spoke English, two young (and very amusing and uninhibited) graduates from foreign language institutes working in the military hospital, an American scholar of the Tibetan language who was in the military hospital following a motor accident, an American teacher who had been at the University for a year, and a surprising number of young people, both Tibetan and Han, who were keen to try out their English — and their competence was not always rudimentary.

The exact circumstances leading to the Dalai Lama leaving Tibet for India in 1959 are uncertain. Undoubtedly, as this observer learnt in Sikkim in 1957 from some who had returned from an extensive tour of Tibet, the Chinese were hoping that the Tibetans would co-operate in the development of the region Yet, in any old established society, it is very difficult to get everyone to believe that a change is both desirable and possible towards education, health care and agricultural development, especially when few know what education, preventive medicine or modern medicine mean, and if those in positions of influence are aware, they are fearful of losing that influence What is certain is that from 1959 to 1974 selected Tibetan refugees were taken from Dharamsala to training camps in the United States of America with a view to dropping some by parachute into Tibet to interefere with the developments being promoted by the Han people. Tibet will always be a part of China. It is unrealistic to assume otherwise as to suppose that Australians will return the land to the aborigines, India return Goa to the Goanese, Americans their lands to the North American Indians, the Swedes the northern part of their country to the Lapps, or New Zealanders their country to the Maoris — and many other examples could be given There are formidable difficulties

in bringing an old society into the twentieth century; while one can argue that one should not even try to do so, that is an impractical attitude. The questions surely are whether it can be done without the use of force, without genocide, and with the co-operation of those whom one is 'trying to do good unto' in the way of the provision of education, improved agriculture, the preservation of the forests, and health care — both preventive and curative.

Two small anecdotes may serve as illustrations. a small number of boys still go each day to study in the monasteries. A twelve year old sitting cross-legged reciting the scriptures for many hours a day was supervised by a forty year old monk The monk, when asked if he beat the boy if he stopped saying his prayers, replied 'No, I do not beat him. I twist the lobe of his ear'. The reply was complete with demonstration. Is this prolonged child abuse in Lhasa?

The Tibetans love coloured pictures One long flaxen haired American girl was distributing illustrated bible stories (with the scripts in Tibetan) More commonly, tourists take with them photographs of the Dalai Lama One wonders if they know of a common fate of these pictures Tibetan teenagers are as smart as those in any country One will go to a tourist and say 'You got photo Dalai Lama? I love Dalai Lama Give me a photo.' Having acquired this object, it must be put to good use. A quick dekko round and he approaches another tourist: 'You not got photo Dalai Lama? You like photo Dalai Lama? Four yuan.'

Whatever may have happened in the past (and it is wise to remember that during the 'Cultural Revolution' all over China many old buildings were damaged and Xizang was no exception), nowadays the Potala and the main monasteries are carefully preserved, restored, protected and visited by multitudes of Tibetans who light their butter lamps Many of the older men and women walk whirling their prayer wheels There is even the occasional man who does penance by coming several hundreds of kilometres to Lhasa prostrating himself on the ground each body length and taking weeks or months over the journey Nobody interferes, these, however, are no longer the norm Prayer flags are much in evidence on houses and bridges (unlike in Sikkim, they are of many colours) and in many houses there is a small altar with butter lamps. Incidentally, the butter milk, high in calories, made in a long churn, is a most refreshing drink

The No 1 High School in Lhasa, just below the Potala, had the Dalai Lama as the first honorary president Now, there are 1,700 pupils· 1,050 Tibetan, some of other minorities and the remainder Han A thousand bicycles will be parked outside the school The teachers, both Tibetan and Han, are keen and dedicated. All the pupils receive an allowance, the Tibetans a slightly higher one than the Hans A room with pictures of some of their star graduates showed a range from a university president to truck drivers, motor car mechanics to school teachers, policemen, army officers, doctors and interpreters All pupils learn a second language, the Han English and the Tibetans Chinese.

Some school leavers go to colleges and universities in other parts of China and some to the institutes for minorities Some go on to the university in Lhasa, which does not yet seem to be able to cope with technical training A number have become fully trained 'modern medicine' doctors. As in so many parts of the world, the desire to become a radio technician, an electronics expert or a motor mechanic is commoner than to become an agriculturist or a forester

The Tibetan director of the radio and television station is an enthusiast, not only at his work, but at tending his garden which was a riot of flowers The Tibetans are very fond of flowers and often have them in their houses The radio station is equipped with the most modern Sony and Bosch instruments, technicians of the former having come over to teach maintenance, as well as technicians having gone to Japan for training Many TV films are made locally There are sixty transmitting stations and forty satellite receivers in the region

The College of Agriculture at Lin Zhi has four divisions agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry and making a simple hydro-electric power station Most of the teachers were Han The standard appeared to be very high The teachers' one worry is that the brightest school leavers do not come to them, preferring electronics and mechanical occupations While great efforts are being made in rational development of the forests, some unwise unauthorised felling still takes place Varieties of high yielding wheat have been developed Some years ago, according to Fei Xiaotong, there were some over-enthusiastic attempts made to persuade the Tibetans to grow wheat instead of barley, but now the farmer can grow whichever he likes and, seeing the success of improved varieties of wheat, some choose to grow it in preference to barley

In the twin towns of Lin Zhi and Bayi, surprisingly snooker is a major recreation with many tables in the open air

A medical school was started in Lhasa in 1972, moved to Lin Zhi in 1973, and in 1977 was upgraded to a medical college (in China, the term medical school is used for those that give a three year training and also trains nurses and laboratory technicians, whereas a college has at least a five year training and the graduate is a qualified doctor) This venture was an expensive mistake The students had to be sent to medical colleges in other parts of China for much of their training. Teachers were not in sufficient numbers or quality It reverted to a medical school a year or two ago and now is being closed with the intention of opening a better one in Lhasa This expensive mistake must have been very heart-breaking for those who had striven so hard and were so keen to tell of their, albeit modest, achievements

The development of medical services in the region has been considerable In Lhasa there are now three five hundred bed hospitals. a general civilian hospital, a newly built and not yet fully commissioned Tibetan medicine hospital and the general hospital of Xizang Command The chief surgeon at the civil hospital is a Tibetan, there were eight patients in his beds who recently had had large hydatid cysts removed (strangely,

all liver or abdominal, and none from the chest) The chief physician had written a number of papers on adaptation to high altitude. About half of the doctors were Tibetan and half Han. The hospital was clean and gave the impression of being very well run The Tibetan medicine hospital, the in-patient wards newly built, but with an older out-patient block, was surprisingly luxurious. While there were all the scripts and books of Tibetan medicine, it seems that modern treatments are given when appropriate, and the value of the laboratory and radiology departments is well understood

The military hospital included special divisions on high altitude mountain sickness, with research units on burns and orthopaedics The deputy director, previously head of the research unit, had had twenty-five papers on high altitude sickness published, mostly in Chinese, a few in English (yet in Heath and Williams massive tome on *Man at High Altitude* there is no reference to either his papers or those from the civilian hospital — the military hospital already had a copy of the Second Edition and had translated most of the First Edition into Chinese) Cardiac catheterization was among the investigations used It was felt that there is considerable value in treatment in a hyperbaric oxygen chamber. A chamber to hold twenty-four patients (in three communicating sections, in one of which operations can be performed) is almost completed Infection of burns practically never occurs at this altitude and treatment was by the open method for the first few days and then the application of an ointment made from herbs The library of the military hospital regularly receives seventy English language journals While many of the young doctors were very keen, some were yearning to return to the lowlands in spite of the extra salary that they receive for living at the high altitude

The American scholar who had had her face severely damaged in a car accident with one cheek nearly torn off had been operated on by two surgeons, the general surgeon dealing with her scalp and the dental surgeon with her face (maxillo-facial surgery in China is in the province of the stomatological department) A superb job had been done. While she did not believe it when told that there would be little scar (it did indeed look awful to her in the mirror), it has been gratifying to learn from her in New York that the good prognosis she was given is now accepted by her as correct

Hospitals are gradually being developed in the rural areas From the large one at Bayi, comprehensive medical care for the district is under way While much preventive medicine is done, coverage is not yet complete Accompanying a Tibetan lady doctor of the PLA to Tibetan villages and to a cluster of houses for old people, many of all ages approached her for advice Fortunately, she carried a plentiful supply of medicines

Walking across a mountain pass to reach some of the tents made of yak hair rugs, a mother was breast feeding her newly born baby. When she saw a stranger approaching, it was a relief that she put her fierce dog on a chain Health workers go to immunise many children in these remoter places, but all districts are not yet visited.

Two Americans aged 28 and 56 years had cycled from Turpan to the north west corner of Tibet, down the western border to Xidulla and along the southern border to Lhasa They were just setting off for Amdo, Golmud and Xining At most places they had stayed in small PLA frontier posts, having obtained a permit from the Chinese Mountaineering Association The rich deposits of gold in the south west have not yet become a commercial proposition

The Xuedun festival of singing and dancing went on for ten days The participants were from far afield It was held in the gardens of the Norbulingka, the summer palace of the Dalai Lama Little groups were each in their own square on the ground, drinking, cooking, eating, playing cards and chess, somewhat more exuberantly merry than a similar gathering to be found at Blackpool or Bournemouth It was pleasanter and more rewarding to mix with them on the tenth day than to go in the early part of the festival to the reserved seats in a roped off area sold at a high price for foreigners

Most visitors to Lhasa come by aeroplane from Chengdu A number come or leave by buses from or to Nepal or Pakistan or by the northern route over the Tangula Mountain through Amdo to Golmud. This is the route by which most of the PLA men come, having two stops each of a week for acclimatization The traveller who arrives by air is well-advised to do absolutely nothing for two days — eat little, drink no alcohol and not venture out This enables him to enjoy the rest of his stay and explore energetically It is prudent to take two 250 mgm acaetazoleamide tablets twice a day for seven days, beginning a few hours before the flight departs Many visitors who did not take those simple precautions were miserably ill throughout their stay and could not even ascend the steps of the Potala

There are a limited number of roads and the accident rate is high Some attribute this to drivers misjudging the speed and distance of approaching vehicles at this high altitude

The PLA have introduced reflecting solar heaters A concave frame lined with silver foil reflects the sun's rays onto a basin of water which boils in about fifteen minutes

New buildings are going up apace and not only in Lhasa.

A Tibetan lady paediatrician who had graduated in Beijing and who works in the civilian hospital brought a seven year old boy for an opinion He was the seventh child of a shepherd's nine children, all living It seemed probable that he had had meningitis and because of some initial delay in getting him to where he could receive appropriate treatment he had a residual sixth nerve paresis Asking the doctor what she thought of the changes in the last twenty or so years, she replied that she had only one major complaint 'They have not been fast enough.'

For the Tibetans, family planning is not yet emphasised, although education about it has commenced in the schools For the Han people, the same advice — only one child — applies as in other parts of the country Many send their wife to the lowlands for the last three months

of the one pregnancy.

The overwhelming impression given to this observer was that all the young people, and the vast majority of the older ones, appreciate the modernisations and are co-operating without coercion in their implementation. Within a few years, the Potala and the monasteries will have a similar relationship to the autonomous region that The Tower of London, Blenheim Palace and Chatsworth have to England: respected, revered and preserved, and visited by many tourists — local, from other parts of China and from other countries in the world — but not part of the ongoing progress of the people and the region.

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The December issue of *Contemporary Review* includes *Trouble in Fiji* by Anirudha Gupta, *Anglo-Irish Dilemma* by Hugh Munro, *The Government's Education Bill* by Bruce Pattison and *Touched by Reality — The Lens of Cecil Beaton* by Muriel Julius

BURMESE DAZE

by Richard Cottrell, MEP

RANGOON, capital of the Socialist Republic of Burma, is gradually dissolving back into the swamp from whence it rose This is a flaking, disintegrating, collapsing city, moist with despair Tattered memorials of the British Empire — post office, law courts, seats of administration, the wondrously-decrepit Strand Hotel — are being consumed from street level upwards by fungoid decay Burma, after 30 years of state socialism, is now one of the poorest countries on the UN register of hopeless cases The Burmese road to socialism leads straight to disaster. Phrases like 'a forgotten corner of the British Empire' spring too easily to mind The British colonial presence had little of the indelible quality associated with the Raj A series of punitive expeditions fuelled by trading disputes led to prolonged incursions culminating in total annexation in 1882 The last independent king, Thibaw, is remembered only for the extraordinary cruelty with which he ruled. The British packed him off to India and settled down to making the best they could of Burma's rich endowment of teak, precious stones and later, oil

It was always 'a difficult country to work' Orwell's description of miserable expatriate souls driven dotty by whisky and prickly heat is famously precise The teeming diversity of Burma was a large part of the problem The traveller, C M Enriquez, wrote in 1933· 'Burma is peopled by so many races that truly we do not know how many, nor who they are, nor whence they came. In no other area are the races so diverse, or the languages and the dialects so numerous'. From antiquity, Burma has been a loose and uneasy arrangement compounded from powerful and mutually antagonistic tribes, a situation which prevails to this day Racial enmity between the inhabitants of 'Burma proper' (loosely the area commanded by the delta region of Rangoon) and the ethnic minorities — seven major racial groups, with the Shans, Karens and Mons enjoying a condition of perpetual dissent — made the country virtually impossible to govern seriously By 1939, turmoil threatened, spurred by a Burmese-inspired nationalist movement When the Japanese struck, promising their own version of liberation theology, the opportunity to throw off the British yolk was eagerly siezed· but war came to Burma with a terrible fury Tens of thousands of Allied soldiers perished in jungle combat before a special breed of unlikely corsairs — Wingate's Chindits, Merrill's Marauders, the US 3-star general 'Vinegar Joe' Stilwell among them — hacked their way back to Rangoon in May, 1945

Burma was razed by this clash of arms From the ruins arose a new independence movement, weakly resisted by the British at first, then rewarded with peaceful negotiation in 1947. All Burmese are fervently addicted to astrology. The new nation was therefore born amid inauspicious portents when virtually the entire interim government fell before the assassins' gunfire This brief historical sketch is essential to comprehend

the pitiful ruin of Burma today — a nation endowed with riches in soil and climate, yet seemingly chained to a recurring cycle of tragedy In 1962, General Ne Win, who set out as a constitutional democrat, overthrew a beleagured government and set Burma on the familiar Third World path to military socialist autocracy Twenty-five years on, Ne Win is still in command In a unique variation of the crusade for socialism, Ne Win withdrew an entire nation into isolation. In one sense this was a reflection of the pervading influence of Buddhist culture· more crudely, it was an attempt to contain the stew of warring dissidents who tear at the fabric of the disunited union. For Burma, the war has never really stopped Few nations in the world endure such insecure frontiers, guarded as they mostly are by a ramshackle gangs of insurrectionalists feeding on narcotics and contraband, united only in their smouldering resentment of the government in Rangoon. In this strange inverted world, a government inspired by Marx denounces its foes as Communists — which some may loosely be, although pure racial enmity is the real source of opposition to the regime

In reality, central control of the nation has now shrunk to a corridor extending along the Irrawaddy from Rangoon to the hills above Mandalay Beyond that zone, travel is uncertain and in any case permanently off limits to foreigners. Visitors are actively discouraged Visas are issued for a maximum of seven days, most of which will be spent fighting off Burmese bureaucracy — in particular Tourist Burma, the oriental equivalent of Intourist — and struggling with the imperfections of a transport system designed to frustrate transport The national airline is recommended only for travellers possessed of a vigorous constitution and immunity to fear the ageing fleet of Dutch-built aircraft display an alarming tendency to disintegrate while airborne.

Tourists are effectively mugged from the moment they land at Rangoon airport — where grotesque murals executed in the style of socialist realism are a suitable introduction to this unhappy land. Foreign currency is extorted at a criminal rate of exchange which means that a bottle of People's Beer — a pale, soupy liquid, like real ale flavoured with grit — will cost at least £3 The well-informed arrive stashed with American cigarettes, lipsticks, lighters and other consumer combustibles, all of which will fetch attractive bonuses on the blackmarket Burma is a truly barter economy. In the market at Rangoon, I performed one transaction with the aid of two packets of cigarettes and a travel-stained teashirt (made in Italy). The going rate for a can of Chinese beer smuggled over the border trail is 20 cigarettes New arrivals at one of the cockroach and mosquito-infested hotels must first run the gauntlet of husky-throated itinerants offering miraculous quantities of Burmese kayats for virtually anything of substantial and exchangeable value

This is perhaps the only country in the world ruled by the black market, the only enduring monument so far on the Burmese road to socialism Ne Win has now attempted to destroy even this wayward defiance by suddenly de-monetarising all the higher-value notes Serious

riots immediately erupted, led by sullen and resentful students who have no outlet for energy or education Students — coupled with increasing elements of dissafection in the officer corps — are beginning to emerge as the basis of an anti-government coalition, which will ultimately pose a serious threat to the regime Ne Win has attempted to dam the anger seeping out from schools, universities, barracks and market stalls by invoking a 'call for change'

Ageing General Ne Win now commands a steadily shrinking loyalty in all areas of the state. Younger officers are eager for power. the tourists who arrive laden with consumer riches and stories of the lavish life-style in neighbouring Thailand serve only to fuel simmering discontent, while rudely welcomed for the hard currency they bring The economy is about to implode, shattering all the traditional constraints which have so far held Burma together — primitive Buddhism, the manipulative power of the Burmese element among so many disordered ethnic groups, the unquestioning obedience of an ossified bureaucracy Burma's wealth — teak, gems and all antiques which can be moved — are shipped daily over the frontiers — while the national economy bleeds from the self-inflicted wrist-wound of moribund state socialism. Criticism emerges from surprising quarters. one tourist guide — outside the official retinue — caused astonishment by vigorously condemning the government which had lured his country into a dustbowl of poverty while neighbouring countries with fewer resources prospered joyfully.

This sense of frustration will ultimately flower into rejection and, when that happens, Burma will fly apart like the burst coils of a long-restrained spring During the currency of the 'domino theory' of Communist expansion in Asia, few saw Burma as a potential domino: this was because, under Ne Win, Burma was already considered fallen The reality is that what rules in Rangoon is barely socialist at all, merely the rotten expression of a regime bankrupt of purpose or direction and maintaining the grim pretence of socialism in order to maintain what remains of the centre of power The Thais eye their crumbling neighbour with considerable angst So — beyond distressed Bangladesh — does India Yet Burma scores few headlines in Western newspapers, compared with the exciting stews like the Philippines, Korea or Sri Lanka Three decades of self-enforced isolation have excluded all informed political curiousity: in truth Burma is no more marginal to eastern stability than Vietnam or Kampuchea But writers who get into the country return laden with prose serving to describe Shangrila, a lost nation beyond the hills and seas where time has been frozen This is the stuff of inflight magazines, Sunday supplements and guides for Californian back-packers When the tragedy comes, we shall wonder why it happened until they start spinning their globes at ITN house and discover there are no direct flights to Rangoon

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IN POLAND: AT THE WORKERS' MASS

by Jonathan Luxmoore

AS Poland has been sweltering in the heat of a late central European summer, and images and impressions of the third Papal visit have been settling in Polish minds, which event stands out most? For most Poles, it was not the Pope's forthright political and ideological challenge to the established order and institutions which mattered most. All of this was well known already Rather, the question would be a deeply personal one, and the answer would depend on many things — upon the clarity of the Pope's words, the atmosphere generated by his presence, and the poignancy and directness of his message to each of them as individuals But if the question was put, many would agree that it was in the teeming Baltic city of Gdansk, birthplace of the outlawed Solidarity movement, that the highpoint was reached For it was here, at the great Workers' Mass in the suburban wasteland of Zaspa, that the theme and purpose of the visit emerged most clearly, profoundly affecting those present, and creating a fund of memories which are certain to endure

On the day of the Pope's arrival, a Friday, Gdansk was saturated with police Thousands of reinforcements had to be brought in, and their vans and lorries filled every open space There had been no public announcement; but it was rumoured that, in addition to his officially scheduled morning engagements, the Pope would be paying a visit to the nearby Lenin Shipyards to bless the three stone crosses erected outside its main gate in memory of the striking workers shot dead by the militia on the same spot in the winter of 1970 No visitor to Gdansk could fail to do so — certainly not the Pope himself

So the police were taking no chances And without any explanation they had blocked all the surrounding roads to prevent people getting through. They were also doubtful about allowing me to leave my flat a few streets away My papers were checked and questions asked; and eventually, after a long remonstration, they relented; but by the time I emerged on the street a few minutes later they had changed their minds again I was only going to Zaspa, I insisted. The officer looked at me and paused, taken aback Then he shook his head No Since I was not registered there I would have to wait for two more hours Why two hours? There was no answer.

There must have been many similar experiences that day, amongst the hundreds of thousands desperate to catch a glimpse of the Polish Pope — there, in their own city But for my Polish neighbours it was a perfectly normal everyday occurrence This was the system Somehow, they had to live and work within it, knowing that however industriously and imaginatively they did so, it would make no difference. The experience could bring out the best in people, and the worst too 'Technically speaking', someone explained, 'you are merely an object at the whim of the powerful; and your only personality is in your papers. It is a senseless

system It doesn't offer reasons for its decisions, and it won't listen to your opinion even if you try to express it You can't plead with it when it blocks your progress, and you can't thank it when it deigns to tolerate you. That would be wrong. But you can't be indifferent to it either If you hate it, fight against it, or just disdain any sense of responsibility, the system will soon crush you. Instead, you must be strong, keep a moral position, and be faithful to your own values and principles. In the end, it is only this which makes you free'.

Was it this spirit, I wondered, which was bringing so many people to Zaspa that day? By early afternoon, despite the police's efforts, the crowd was at least a million-strong and growing all the time, and as I stepped out of the station the dusty tracks and grass slopes were already becoming impassable A mile in the distance, shimmering in the heat, stood the vast Papal altar, the product of weeks of work by local craftsmen — shaped in the prow of a massive ship, with a giant sail as its canopy and three glistening crosses for masts, towering 150 feet into the sky. And between us stretched an immense sea of people, dotted about with tree saplings and red cross flags gently fluttering in the humid sea breeze Towards the front, a mass of red-and-white banners proclaimed the defiant presence of Solidarity delegations from factories, co-operatives and enterprises throughout the country And from the balconies of the surrounding apartment blocks, their greyness broken by a dazzling array of pictures and streamers, young men, quiet couples, ageing grandparents and brightly dressed children gazed down expectantly.

The Pope's arrival at three o'clock was unannounced. But from the fervent applause which quickly spread from the area of the altar, it was clear that the longed-for moment had arrived And in the endless procession of priests and dignitaries making their way up the wooden steps on either side, the stooping, gold-mitred figure was just recognisable. Eventually, when the cheering and arm-waving had subsided, and the solemn introductory prayers were over, the vast congregation heard the words of Genesis 'So God created Man in his own image, in the image of God he created him, male and female he created them And God blessed them'

The powerful voice of the Bishop of Gdansk continued. the workers of Poland thanked the Pope for showing his solidarity with them, for his words of hope, and for the guidance given by his encyclical *Laborem Exercens* It was a document compiled from the ideas and principles reasserted in the difficult but hopeful days of August 1980, when all of Poland had been engulfed by the great movement of the human spirit which began five miles away in Gdansk Out of them the Poles were building a new homeland 'We welcome you, Holy Father', the Bishop went on, his words echoing crudely over the loudspeakers, 'to Gdansk, a city recreated from the destruction of war; a symbol to Poland and all the world of the dignity and honour of working people; and a sign to all nations that this dignity and honour can be defended without violence'.

As the bishop's welcoming statement died away, there were two

readings. From St. Matthew's Gospel came the parable of the vineyard owner, who had paid the same wage to those hired at the eleventh hour as to those who had toiled from the beginning of the day And from St. Paul's Letter to the Galatians came the injunction 'Bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ . . . And let us not grow weary in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we do not lose heart'.

Then, as the banners were respectfully lowered, the deep, resonant Slavic voice of the Pope was heard for the first time, calm but emphatic The city and community of Gdansk, said the Pope, had indeed become a symbol to the world — a symbol expressed in the words of the Psalm now inscribed on the wall of the Lenin Shipyards 'The Lord will give strength to his people, the Lord will give his people the blessing of peace'. And it was a symbol of Man's liberation through work This was Poland's own city, and it was here that great effort had been made to restore to human work its personal and social dimension Recent years had marked an important stage in the 'work on work' which was needed in every society and milieu

'Perhaps', the Pope continued, 'this matter is less understood in the countries of prosperity, reaching to the limits of consumeristic abuse. But it is understood wherever the problem of work still underlies Man's genuine progress'. The work contract, and the proper remuneration for work done, were issues around which the history of justice, and injustice, had been accumulating from generation to generation. Work had to be paid for; but the just relationship of work and pay could never be defined adequately if one did not start with Man himself, the subject of work. Work could not be treated purely as a commodity, since Man could not be a commodity at the hands of others. He entered work in all his humanity; and his substantiveness was reflected in his social life, and in the substantiveness of society, made up of working people All the rights of Man were to be seen in relation to his work; and they must be respected.

'As a human person', the Pope declared, 'Man is not only an executor, but also a co-creator of the products of work Therefore he has a right to share in the decisions affecting his own workplace He has a right to self-management — including, among other things, trade unions, independent and self-governing, as was stressed right here in Gdansk'.

The vast crowd had been weighing his every word, and at this there was thunderous applause The banners were up again, and in the distance, above the general clamour, the brisk chant of 'Solidarity' began to rise in intensity.

The 1980 Gdansk Agreements, the Pope persisted, were a manifestation of the growing awareness of working people of the requirements of social and moral order And they still remained — a task to be fulfilled. 'Human work', he went on, 'contributes to the common good of society And through it working people are entitled to a say in the matters affecting society, which thrives and develops on their work'

From the centre, a second chant of 'Long live the Pope' quickly spread, giving way to a chorus of the traditional Polish song, *Sto Lat* — 'May

you live a hundred years' The Pope caught the words 'I'm still alive thankyou', he replied, to the delight of his listeners; 'but you should not interrupt the Pope when he is talking about *you!*' And *Sto Lat,* he added, would not be understood in Rome. It was not a religious song.

He moved on to his second theme, based on the text from Galatians. 'Solidarity', the Pope proclaimed, 'means one with another, never one against another And if there are burdens to be carried, they must be born together in the community — never by Man alone without the help of others. No theories of struggle can outweigh this programme of solidarity — certainly not that deliberate struggle, the class struggle, against those identified only as enemies, who are to be fought and destroyed rather than brought to agreement!'

There, in St. Paul's words, stood the inspiration for personal and social solidarity — 'bear one another's burdens'. Man was not alone. He lived with others, through others, and for others And in the social community there should be space for everyone. It was the duty of the State to provide this space, so that everyone could develop himself, his personality and vocation, through work. This was the precondition of the common good; and no theories of social organisation could be invoked against it.

The workers of the world, the Pope concluded, thanked the people of Gdansk for what they had done And the Church thanked them too, for undertaking their 'work on work' in the spirit of Christianity. The sight of Polish workers confessing and receiving the sacrament in their workplaces during the strikes of August 1980 had aroused worldwide astonishment. 'Many people wondered how it could be — that a link existed between the world of work and the cross of Christ, between human work and the holy Mass, Christ's offering They wondered — and perhaps they also rediscovered this forgotten dimension of social life and human existence work and Christ, work and the Eucharist. But it was there!'

In the end, said the Pope, work must have sense And this meant ultimate sense, measured by what Man is — 'a being called for work, a being called for glory!' Even when, measured in temporal terms, his life and work seemed pointless and unjust, it was in this ultimate sense that they acquired purpose and meaning And this was also, finally, the lesson of the vineyard parable from St Matthew which had been read earlier in the afternoon 'God says to Man, in the vineyard of his age-long and ultimate destiny, why do you restrict me with the measure of your own justice alone? Let me be a gift; for I am your creator. In God's kingdom justice is fulfilled by love — a love embracing Man, elevating him, even in his prodigality There is no full justice without love, and this love is greater than anything Man can conceive'.

When the intercession prayers had ended, and hundreds of priests had brought the communion chalice to the massed ranks of workers, the Pope thanked the people for coming It was, he said, a Mass not only for the workers of Gdansk, but for the whole world of work. He was praying every day for them, and for the spirit of solidarity manifested in the banners and flags before him And he spoke of them, and for them,

frequently too But he had one final plea: it must be a day of prayer. The people of Poland must keep their hopes alive. But they must also be patient, thinking in a long-term perspective. To emphasise his point, the Pope repeated the phrase twice. Once again, there was loud applause.

As the Pope's helicopter soared above the waving onlookers at Zaspa minutes later, the mood of euphoria was visible on every face And as it slowly disappeared from view, thousands of arms were raised in the victory salute as the air was filled with the traditional hymn, 'God Save Poland' As the crowd began to disperse, an endless procession of chanting groups moved through it, holding their banners high — 'Fighting Solidarity', 'Freedom and Peace', 'Solidarity-Warsaw', 'Solidarity-Krakow', 'Solidarity-Lodz', 'Solidarity-Tarnow', 'Solidarity-Lublin', 'Solidarity-Szczecin'.

It had been a day to remember But what was it, in the end, that had really persuaded so many people to make the pilgrimage to Zaspa? Just to be there? In some cases, perhaps that was it, and it would not have been a bad reason. It was to be, first and foremost, a religious occasion, and an occasion which must also convey a clear message, applicable to everyday life But it would have been impossible to predict what the Pope would say, and there were far too many imponderables in the current situation for anyone to expect the event to have practical consequences.

So perhaps what drew people to Zaspa above all was the need for an answer to the key question posed by the Pope's confidant, Fr. Jozef Tischner, a short while before 'How can so many people believe in God, and so few believe in life?' For most Poles, the feeling that the established order was set against the ethical standards of human dignity was unavoidable; and in this lay the powerful negative stimulation which generated lethargy, frustration, disillusionment, fear and selfishness, and the sense of profound injustice which killed the civic spirit and destroyed the will to an active life.

But beneath the superficial ugliness and hopelessness, there were still positive images of beauty and truth to be found; and it was of these that the Pope had reminded them He had blessed their efforts, and given the unquestionable reassurance that the achievements of seven long and bitter years since the Solidarity earthquake were safe. The senselessness of the system, and the darkness and uncertainty which many now felt, had in the end changed nothing There was no doubt about the legitimacy of the rights and freedoms which the Polish workers had demanded And if, for the time being, their hopes of exercising them seemed to have been dashed, they had only to wait patiently — preserving their Christian convictions, and thinking in the 'long-term perspective' to which the Pope had referred God was with them, rewarding their efforts even though the system of power rejected them And the darkness and uncertainty of the moment were merely the price to be paid for the certain knowledge that deliverance would one day come

There had been no political slogans and catchphrases in the Pope's homily But somehow, a single figure before a crowd which stretched as

far as the eye could see, he had succeeded in giving his workers exactly what they sought In the event, it was left to a few thousand marchers to confront the teargas-wielding riot police on the road back to Gdansk. By nine o'clock the plain of Zaspa was virtually deserted

It happened some months ago And as the Polish workers still ponder the Pope's words, one wonders whether there was not, as the Pope seemed to hint, something in the momentous Workers' Mass for us too If poverty, depredation and Marxist collectivism breed their problems, so too do affluence, prosperity and capitalistic individualism. And over all of them, the dilemma of human work, of just rewards for honest efforts, casts its long shadow To the oppressed, the exploited and the unemployed of any society, an attitude which measures the sense and value of human work only in concrete material terms offers only hopelessness and despair Instead, work must be seen in a new way, as the Pope reminded his listeners — as a form of prayer, a measure of the worker's dignity, and a symbol of his closeness to God, which preserves its value whatever its material outcome This was the spirit of Gdansk — the hidden dimension of human work rediscovered by the Polish workers in August 1980. And the 'work on work' to which it gave rise carries its lessons beyond Poland's borders.

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HONECKER'S FORAY INTO AN ANAEMIC BONN

by Manfred R. Hamm

AT last General Secretary Erich Honecker, East Germany's top leader since 1971, paid his first visit to its capitalist big brother In early September, Bonn rolled out the 'red carpet' and received the East German visitor with all the honours accorded to a foreign head of state The East German anthem resounded in Bonn for the first time, a remarkable, yet unusual, ceremony for a representative of a country which Bonn refuses to recognise as a sovereign state.

Honecker was originally to have come to West Berlin in September 1984 but was called to order by Moscow At the time, such a demonstration of independence and 'detente' by East Germany was deemed out of place, given the chill in East-West relations following the US deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe and the Soviet walk-out from the Geneva arms talks In the midst of the US presidential election campaign, such a 'conciliatory' gesture of one of Moscow's most stalwart allies might also have been taken as a vindication of President Reagan's tough stance towards the Kremlin Moscow sought to prevent such a windfall

But the international political situation had now changed There have been two superpower summits and an agreement on eliminating all nuclear missiles with a range above 300 miles had nearly been worked out This time, Honecker's visit had Moscow's blessing It also served to highlight the new 'openness' and readiness for 'constructive' dialogue that Mikhail Gorbachev has made the 'trademark' of his foreign policy Incidentally, it also fulfilled Honecker's longtime desire to crown his impressive career by visiting Bonn and his hometown, Wiebelskirchen, in the Saarland near the French border. Other stopovers included Trier and Wuppertal, the birth places of the theoreticians of Communism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and Munich to confer with the powerful and mercurial Franz-Josef Strauss. There were no signs of flagging health, but time is clearly running out for Erich Honecker. He had turned 75 just a few days before embarking on his historic voyage

Certainly, Chancellor Helmut Kohl looked forward to the Honecker visit as a welcome reprieve from the domestic political problems which had broken into the open during the summer recess During recent months, the Bonn government had been rocked by various issues Mr Kohl's Christian Democrats are deeply divided on the overall direction of party policy, arms control, internal security, AIDS policy as well as tax reform, one of the key reforms to be undertaken during this term In the process, a latent rift between Chancellor Kohl's CDU and its more conservative Bavarian sister party, the CSU, led by the boisterous Franz-Josef Strauss had widened The conflict between the CSU and the Free Democrats (FDP) had become dangerously divisive, reaching the point of rendering the coalition incapable of conducting a coherent and predictable policy

Chancellor Kohl had expected that the anxiously awaited visit and the attending media hype, as well as the prospect of wrapping up an INF accord between Washington and Moscow, would put an end to the out-of-control crisis of his government In particular, he hoped it would give him the opportunity to restore his battered image as a forceful leader after seemingly interminable vacillation and indecision while the rival factions engaged in mutinous trench-warfare His advisors were also confident that the visit would pay political dividends at the polling booths But Mr Kohl was disappointed on all counts Only hours after Mr Honecker's departure, his CDU suffered devastating defeats in both state elections and the internal party turmoil erupted with a vengeance

Mr Erich Honecker has remained relatively unknown in the West, although tiny East Germany is Moscow's most reliable and crucial client in military, political and economic terms Honecker is a dedicated, life-long Communist who had joined the pre-war KPD youth organization in the Saarland at the age of ten, advancing to become its regional leader after a year of schooling in Moscow in 1930 Shortly after Hitler came to power, he left his native Saarland — then still occupied by France — to work in the underground in the Ruhr valley, at that time the industrial heartland of Germany When his cover was about to be blown, he transferred to Berlin There the Gestapo, Hitler's secret police, busted him in 1935 and he was sentenced to a 10 year prison term in 1937 The Soviets freed him when occupying Berlin and he promptly resumed his former duties as leader of the Soviet-controlled Communist youth organization

From early days on, Honecker has been fiercely loyal to Moscow and Stalin, who epitomized for him Communist leadership In fact, Honecker never criticised Stalin for the mass purges and other aberrations revealed by Khrushchev at the 20th CPSU Party Congress in 1956 De-Stalinization never occurred in East Germany because his boss, Walter Ulbricht, was a Stalinist himself Erich Honecker was very adept at forging the FDJ Youth into a highly disciplined, almost paramilitary organization modelled on the Hitler Youth

His most lasting monument was sunk into concrete The Berlin Wall, that monstrous barrier cutting through the centre of the city and surrounding West Berlin As chief of the security forces Honecker secretly organized the vast logistical effort to put up the Wall on August 13, 1961 During his 16 years at the helm of the Party, this make-shift fortification has been systematically perfected It has become virtually insurmountable Although the guns of sharp-shooters on the watch-towers have been silenced for the 750th anniversary celebration of the city of Berlin and the run-up to his visit, shooting fugitives is likely to resume after his return to East Germany

Since Ulbricht was sent into retirement in 1971, Honecker had balanced stern orthodoxy with pragmatism and has adapted to every twist and turn in Soviet policy He adjusted to Moscow's detente policy, negotiating a Basic Treaty to govern relations between both German states When East-West relations deteriorated in the late 1970s, Honecker reversed

course Under his auspices a new East German constitution was passed in 1976 It deleted any reference to 'one' German nation. Until recently, he had also steadfastly resisted attempts by Bonn to ease the human hardships associated with the partition of Germany He had presided over an oversized prison camp surrounded by barbed wire and watch-towers

The thaw in inter-German relations since 1985 could be regarded as a calculated, easily reversible palliative to relieve mounting unrest and domestic political pressures at home if it were not for the new style of Soviet foreign policy under Mikhail Gorbachev. In fact, Mr. Honecker and his leadership had been wary of the longterm ramifications of the changes initiated by Gorbachev in all areas of Soviet policy His own people began demanding *glasnost, perestroyka* and 'new thinking' by their leaders He repeatedly resisted Soviet prodding to emulate Soviet reforms and had insisted on 'special conditions' dictating the different speed of political change Soviet leader Gorbachev found a way to express his unhappiness with the restive Mr Honecker on the occasion of Honecker's 75th birthday Whereas all other congratulatory messages from fraternal socialist countries bore the signature of the party chief, Moscow's greetings came in the name of the Central Committee One should remember that Walter Ulbricht, Honecker's predecessor, was eased out of office in 1971 because he stood in the way of Brezhnev's desire to launch his detente policy with the West

But as a pragmatist, Honecker appreciates the economic benefits of better relations with the Federal Republic He has been eager to persuade Bonn to pay 'hard cash' for easily reversible improvements in relations Political prisoners are being sold regularly, he has no qualms about allowing West Germany to pay for a new Autobahn linking Hamburg to Berlin or taking 'lump-sum' visa payments directly from Bonn. In return for a 2 Billion Deutschmark credit arranged by the conservative Bavarian Prime Minister Franz-Josef Strauss, he even agreed to remove the automatic guns on the heavily fortified border, only to replace them with computerised sensors, mines, and high-voltage fences

In return for another large, subsidised credit Honecker's regime dumped some 50,000 'undesirables' on West Germany in 1986 By contrast, only about 5,000 East Germans have been allowed to emigrate to the Federal Republic in 1987 Nonetheless, the Iron Curtain has become more porous In the past, only retired people were allowed to visit relatives in the West and exceptions for younger people were granted very selectively in urgent family situations If senior citizens decided to stay, the authorities did not shed any tears, in view of saved social security payments.

Lately, however, these 'exceptions' are being issued much more liberally More than one half million 'under-age' visitors are expected to travel to West Germany during 1987 Hence, more than 2 million East Germans out of a population of 17 million will be given travel permits While Honecker has curtailed emigration, he has allowed many more cross-border visits The recent reduction of the hard-currency allowance from 75 to 25 Deutschmark per visitor will not curtail travel

Honecker knows that he cannot indefinitely deny his people what they want most — the right to travel freely and to mingle with their 'brothers and sisters' in the West Easing some of the hardships helps to stabilise his regime The same logic applies to improving the standard of living, which is already the highest of all socialist countries Ideological slogans no longer spur people to work harder Increasingly, they wish to see the fruits of their labour in terms of improved housing, recreation and luxury goods For Honecker, June 17 1953, when Russian tanks put down a popular uprising in East Berlin, is still a painful memory.

The regime is constantly being reminded that it must broaden civil rights to maintain control and keep people from drifting into apathy Germans have little revolutionary fervour Despite partition, the younger generation increasingly shares interests and concerns with their counterparts in the West. Most East Germans can watch West German TV, keeping them informed with events at home and abroad that are not covered by their own censored media There is already an incipient environmentalist and anti-nuclear weapons movement.

Even skin-heads can be seen in East Germany When Western rock groups play at the Brandenburg Gate or the old Reichstag, East Berlin youth gathers at the Wall to listen in At the August 13 rally to commemorate the 26th anniversary of the Berlin Wall some 50 youths gathered at the Brandenburg Gate and echoed President Reagan, yelling 'the Wall must come down' in an unprecedented show of defiance Mikhail Gorbachev's *glasnost* has certainly stimulated such manifestations of dissent inconceivable only a few years ago Tourism seems to have become popular and its destination appears to be East Berlin

For the first time in 20 years, a Lutheran Church Convention took place in East Berlin last June, drawing some 20,000 participants It was remarkable that grass roots church groups staged a parallel programme which were allowed to proceed despite official impediments Participants brought thinly disguised charges against the regime for human rights violations and called for greater freedom of expression, more political pluralism and environmental protection

Honecker has successfully parried West German demands for political change, more travel and exchange of information, family reunification and exit visas very well In due course, he recently remarked, the demarcation line between both German states may resemble the border with socialist Poland He is likely to gain much from his foray into West Germany The protocol treated him as a head of state and to the GDR this served as a functional equivalent of an official recognition. It may come to haunt the Bonn government, if only because it disgruntled many conservative voters In part, at least, this traditionally Christian Democratic electorate deserted Kohl's party in Schlwesig-Holstein At any rate, most of the credit for the visit went to the FDP and its foreign minister, Mr Genscher

The 'goodwill' mission also provided the East German leader with a platform to foster popular perceptions in the West of his concern about

the arms race and sincere desire for peace This will lend credibility to his call for a renunciation of the first-use of nuclear weapons, a nuclear and chemical weapons-free zone and general disarmament Although his host government opposes these concepts, as does NATO as a whole, both opposition parties have embraced them and will try to get from them some political mileage

More tangible gains may probably be found in the economic field In Bonn, Mr Honecker signed agreements on intensifying trade, environmental protection, including nuclear power plant safety, and scientific co-operation Although he did not return home with a new line of credit or a bagful of cash in his pocket, measurable economic gains will materialise later Bonn was virtually obliged to raise some 'sensitive' issues with Mr Honecker, but exercised caution to avoid spoiling the 'atmosphere' Some were avoided altogether or broached only in general terms Avoiding blunt accusations about human rights violations was probably prudent but it should not have prevented Bonn from stipulating certain conditions in return for more economic assistance Because of excessive restraint, the East German visitor had a smooth passage and held virtually all the cards There may be a rude awakening, once the spell of 'good feelings' has dissipated and Mr Honecker presents the bill for improvements in travel as well as technological co-operation. Rail and road improvements in East Germany are badly needed as is a major overhaul of the telephone system East Berlin may also demand financial and technological assistance to cut down pollution of rivers flowing into the West

As the faint rays of hope in the wake of the Honecker visit may seem to dim, the political health of the Kohl government remains uncertain Immediately after the state elections in Schleswig-Holstein it appeared that a badly maimed CDU would be able to hold onto power only by forming a coalition with the FDP But a mere two weeks after the elections the allegations made by a former press aide of Watergate-type 'plumbing operations' during the election campaign, served to discredit the SPD standard bearer This forced the sudden resignation of the CDU prime minister, Mr Uwe Barschel Now, neither political grouping is able to form a government New elections will become inevitable, unless the FDP reneges on its pledge to team with the CDU

Thus, the future of the Kohl government hangs in the balance The only issue on which the FDP and CSU see eye-to-eye is the staged tax-reform, leading to major tax cuts for the middle-class and business Party leaders of CDU and CSU have held two meetings to smooth over their current differences and keep the two sister parties from drifting even further apart

Unless Chancellor Kohl is able to reassert his leadership and force his own lieutenants to toe the line, he may not succeed in preserving the alliance of both Christian Democratic parties Since the strong-willed Bavarians will try to exact a maximum of concessions from Mr Kohl, his uncontested leadership will also be a prerequisite to win acceptance

of a more conservative agenda by an increasingly assertive and self-assured FDP

It will be poorly equipped to deal with the challenges ahead A paralysed Bonn government, however, would be a major impediment to constructive US/European relations at a critical juncture in dealing with the Soviet Union The frail political well-being of the current Bonn government may also prove an effective obstacle to tackling the mounting problems in Brussels, especially curing the European Community's ailing finances and reforming the common agricultural policy (CAP) An internally split Bonn government will be incapable of dealing with these issues as all its energies will be concentrated on ensuring sheer survival More seriously, it will prevent Bonn from harvesting the paltry crop that may grow from the seeds it sought to sow with the Honecker visit

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THE CONSEQUENCES OF HILLSBOROUGH

by Sir John Biggs-Davison, M.P.

CARDINAL (he was then Archbishop) Manning rebuked 'Englishmen' of his day for the harm they did 'by contemptuous, satirical, disrespectful, defiant language' about Ireland and the Irish There are prominent Englishmen today who do harm by supercilious assertions that they will never understand the Irish (have they taken the trouble to study them and their history which is part of ours?) or that the tiresome Irish can fight it out among themselves — like the Kilkenny cats

Lord Fitt has drawn analogy between Northern Ireland and the Falkland Islands It appears to have been in the wish of 'contemptuous' politicians and mandarins to get rid of territories that are bones of contention with foreign states Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien has observed that the dissolution of the United Kingdom is the logic of the Hillsborough Agreement

The Ulster Unionist Party report, *An End to Drift,* has raised the spectre of an Ulster independence which could haunt the mainland too and lead to the dissolution of the United Kingdom That possibility should give NATO planners a headache A NATO that thinks in terms of ships, supplies and convoys views the island of Ireland as crucial to the West's command of the North-East Atlantic and the air space of the British Isles.

Ever since the abolition of Stormont and the imposition of direct rule from London, successive governments have behaved as though bent on perpetuating the division of a divided society They legislate for that division by measures that differentiate Northern Ireland from Great Britain To every rapidly succeeding Secretary of State his very own 'new political initiative' 'We can't go on as we are, Minister.'

The last two initiatives have been seen as 'John Hume benefits' It is seen as the duty of Conservative and Unionist Ministers to keep the SDLP in business, for fear of that 'something worse', Sinn Féin, and to avert 'Catholic alienation' (a phrase used by the brilliant propagandists of the republican movement to make the British feel guilty) Mr Hume praises the Hillsborough initiative which, according to Dr Garrett Fitz-Gerald, gives 'Dublin . a say in precisely those issues of greatest sensitivity such as political and security matters . .'

Every successive, abortive political initiative since Stormont went has alarmed the majority and encouraged the terrorist to persevere Lord Hailsham warned us once against the eager problem-solvers Parrot on about Northern Ireland being so 'different', as though Scotland, with her distinct legal system, is not, and you weaken the Union The desire of nearly every Protestant and nearly every second Catholic in Northern Ireland to cleave to Britain does not make Ministers glow with gratitude On the back benches 'contemptuous, satirical' English politicians sneer snobbishly at Ulster's 'Thatcherite' virtues and boisterous patriotism.

They deserve first prize for 'alienation'.

The Irish, North and South, are as 'British' as are the Scots, Welsh, Manx and Channel Islanders Our islands form a natural geopolitical and cultural entity Ulster is particularly close to Scotland Partition tragically severed most of Ireland from the rest of the British Isles Home Rule was imposed on Northern Ireland in the hope of reunification by means of a Council of Ireland representing Northern and Southern parliaments That hope was dashed mainly by Southern attitudes to Crown and Commonwealth and by the declaration of a republic De Valera's constitution of 1937 had already dishonoured the Free State's signature to the Tripartite Declaration of 1925 (deposited at the League of Nations) by claiming All-Ireland sovereignty The Anglo-Irish Agreement (registered with the United Nations) has not changed that.

It is the latest and worst in the chain of failed political initiatives It substituted the alienation of the majority for the alienation of a minority of the minority It substituted a republican veto for the supposed Unionist veto on political progress It revived sectarian violence There has been no reduction in republican violence The agreement damaged the economic prospects of a deprived region This unequal treaty distorted the sound principle of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council, which is an East-West (London-Dublin) and not a North-South organisation equipped reciprocally to advance the security and prosperity of the British Isles as a whole without prejudice to the sovereignty of either partner

Perhaps there are grounds for hope in the absence from the Queen's Speech of specific mention of the Agreement Speaking in the first Northern Ireland debate in the new Parliament, the Secretary of State, Mr Tom King, alluded to the provision in the Agreement for review of the working of the Intergovernmental Conference

The safety of the minority is best assured, not by the intrusion of a Minister of the Republic sitting in the Conference, not by prefabricated checks and balances assemblies, but by the Parliament at Westminster Devolved government in a form acceptable across the Northern Ireland community and to the British Parliament has proved to be a will-o'-the wisp The lesson of the old Stormont is that the minority is best protected directly under Westminster So administrative devolution to local authorities and a regional council, the policy of the Conservative and Unionist Party, presented in its General Election manifesto of 1979, makes sense. Let this part of the United Kingdom be governed as though it were truly a part of the United Kingdom That would serve notice on the terrorists that the game was up and that the British were not to be bombed or bored 'out of Ireland'.

[Sir John Biggs-Davison is Conservative Member of Parliament for Epping Forest]

ARAB CONTRIBUTIONS TO RURAL LIFE IN SPAIN

by Habeeb Salloum

NO one who has been so fortunate as to be invited to an Andalusian farmer's home will ever forget the hospitality of their hosts. More than any other country in Europe, in this part of Spain, a stranger is always made to feel welcome Why this is so has a historical foundation. Its roots go back to the 900 years the Arabs remained in the Iberian Peninsula first as conquerors, then as conquered

When a Spanish host smiles and makes his guest feel at home with the phrase *esta casa es su casa,* he is only translating the words of some of his Arab ancestors who would say, *al-bayt baytak* (this home is your home), or when he toasts his visitors saying, *de salud sirva* (may it be your health), he is repeating the Arab word *sahtayn* (may it aid your health)

As the visitor, who has been treated to the best the host has to offer, departs with the phrase *hasta mañana, si Dios quiere,* beside *hasta* from the Arabic *hatta* (until), he is echoing the *ila al-liqā, inshā' Allāh* (until we meet again, if God wills), or when the guest answers with *ojalá* (may God will that), he is repeating the Arabic *inshā' Allāh* (if God wills)

These and other Arab-inherited phrases in the Spanish way of life are a testimony to the influences the Arabs left on the culture of the Iberian Peninsula There is little doubt that from the first decades after they had conquered Spain and Portugal until they were finally expelled in 1609, their impact on all facets of life in these lands was enormous.

When the Arabs poured out of the Arabian Peninsula in the 7th century AD after the advent of Islam, not many historians would have predicted that they would leave their mark in the annals of world civilization With hardly any learning, in a few decades they had conquered the lands between China and France, the home of ancient wisdom and cultures In the ensuing years they absorbed these refinements of man and from them developed one of the most brilliant civilizations the world had ever known For about 500 years, from 800 to 1300 AD, Arab/ Muslim learning and way of life was the most advanced in the world

From the heart of China to the borders of France, Arabic became the language of intellectual and scientific expression This is attested to by the countless Arabic words which were borrowed by other languages in all fields of human activities These words, some originally Arabic and others transferred through the medium of Arabic, are an affirmation of the contributions the Arabs made to humankind.

This Arab impact is best exemplified in the Iberian Peninsula where the sons of Arabia built a dazzling civilization which bequeathed to Europe the basis of its future development According to W J Entwistle in *The Spanish Language,* the Mozarabs, Arabized Spanish Christians under Muslim rule were responsible for the easy passage into Spanish of a considerable Arabic vocabulary The administrative, intellectual and

scientific tongue in Spain was Arabic and, hence, a large number of words dealing with administration, agriculture, architecture, crafts, commerce, industry, science and place names are today of Arabic origin The Spanish Christians in turn gave these words along with the associated technology to the other countries in Europe

Even in our times, the influences of this Muslim Spanish state, called by the Arabs Al-Andalus, still permeates all aspects of Spanish life — best reflected in the agricultural sector, the pillar of Arab Spain In its days of glory, farmers in Muslim Andalusia produced more and were more prosperous than most of the other Islamic countries who, in their turn, were the most advanced in the medieval world In his book *The Splendour of Moorish Spain* Joseph McCabe states that the Arabs described Al-Andalus as a glorious garden of terraced hills where every acre of cultivatable land was tilled

Arab Spain reached its apogee in the 10th century when Ibn Hawqal wrote that the major part of Al-Andalus was fertile and was watered by many rivers, the cost of living was cheap and the people lived a happy and prosperous life It is said that during its golden age in the 10th and 11th centuries Al-Andalus had 12,000 towns and villages along the banks of the Guadalquiver alone — a density unknown in any other part of the world

What made this westernmost country in the Muslim world flourish was the hard work of the peasants, rendering the countryside fertile Estates tilled by slaves were very few The land was almost all owned by small landowners Tilling the soil and farming were proud professions To work was a moral duty.

Agriculture was greatly developed by this attachment to the soil which led to the introduction of new crops, advanced techniques of cultivation, preservation of fruits and vegetables and the use of fertilizers These were complemented by an excellent irrigation system with a tight control of inspection and enforcement — still followed in parts of the Iberian Peninsula

A wide variety of foods of which the people in the remainder of Europe had no conception were cultivated Among the important crops, many in Spanish still carrying their Arabic names, which were introduced or immensely expanded by the Arabs were *albaricoque* — apricot, *(al-barqūq* — the apricot), *alcachofa* — artichoke, *(al-khurshūf* — the artichoke), banana, *(banān* — fingers); spinach, *(isbānakh* — spinach) and *limón* — lemon, *(laymūn* — lemon)

In addition, the Arabs increased on a large scale the production of almonds, asparagus, dates, figs, grapes, strawberries, wheat and olives — still called in Spanish by their Arabic name *aceitunas,* from *al-zaytūn* and their oil *aceite,* from *al-zayt* The Arab-planted olive orchards have only been slightly expanded in our times, yet, today Spain produces half the world's supply of olive oil

Besides the food crops, the Arabs brought to the Iberian Peninsula the cotton plant which in Spanish is called *algodon,* from the Arabic *al-quṭn,*

They also developed the silk industry to make Al-Andalus one of the major silk manufacturing countries of the medieval world The fine fabrics of which Europe was to be proud in later centuries had their origin in this land of the Moors

The wealth generated by agriculture would have been insignificant were it not for the excellent irrigation system the Arabs constructed throughout Al-Andalus When these former sons of the desert first came to the Iberian Peninsula, they found a primitive form of a Roman irrigation network After making a scientific study of the land, they greatly improved this network, constructing many hydraulic arrangements for irrigating the whole of their domain Rivers and wells were exploited and underground sources of water discovered Channels were cut even in solid rock, dams built and the windmill introduced from the East The waterwheel, *noria,* from the Arabic *nā'ūra,* still used in parts of Spain, was also brought from the eastern lands With ingenious feats of engineering they provided water everywhere This life-giving commodity was conserved and utilized with such skill that to the present day much of what was once a flourishing Moorish countryside remains

There is little doubt that the intricate canal networks which supplied the much-needed water were responsible for producing the thriving crops in the Muslim era The lush *huerta* surrounding Valencia has fascinated engineers and historians for centuries The Moorish irrigation system which made this garden full of orchards and rice-fields possible is still regulated by a thousand year old tribunal established by the Moorish Caliph al-Hakam II Every Thursday at midday it holds its sessions to adjudicate land disputes among the farmers The code laid down by the Moors is still the basis of judgement by this Tribunal of the Waters

The Valencian *huerta* was only one area in Spain which benefited from the agricultural techniques of the Arabs In the southern part of the country the Moors created what some historians have called an earthly paradise M Defourneaux in his book, *Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age,* wrote

> The most admirable area is around Granada where the Moors for a long time occupied the kingdom They brought water from the snow-capped Sierras, by means of canals and tunnels, to fertilize the plains and the blossoming hills which surround them to make it one of the most beautiful sights in the world

The introduction of new crops with the accompanying irrigation generated considerable wealth This gave rise to an affluent society which appreciated the beauty of nature and that created by man The forests were protected, new types of trees and flowers cultivated and a number of wild flowers, grasses and shrubs were identified and named

The famous botanists of Arab Spain, Ibn Basṣāl, Ibn al-Wāfid, Ibn al-Hajjāj and Ibn al-'Awwām, have left us a great deal of material on the productivity and fertility of plants and general agricultural practices Ibn al-Awwām in the 12th century wrote a treatise on agriculture which was translated into the Romance languages of the Middle Ages It lists some 584 species of plants and gives precise instructions regarding their cultivation and use He also wrote about methods for grafting trees and

how to produce hybrids, stop the blight of insects and create floral essences of perfume

With flowers, shrubs and trees the Moors created gardens of a grand artistic perfection The passion for gardens and flower-filled courtyards was deep in the heart of every Arab This is reflected in the words of chroniclers who have left us first-hand and precise knowledge about the Moorish courtyards during the Muslim era As a result of this legacy Spain today has some of the most charming homes and gardens in the world Flowers overflowing from window-boxes against white walls which beautify the streets and plazas are a true legacy from the days when the sons of Arabia ruled

Next in importance to the produce of the land in the Muslim age was sheep raising and the wool industry it generated The *rabadán* — head shepherd, from the Arabic, *(rabb al-da'n* — master of the herd), *rehala* — a flock of sheep of different owners, *(rahāla* — the flock), *res* — head of cattle, *(ra's* — head), and *zagal* — young shepherd, *(zaghlūl* — child), playing his *alboque* flute, *(al-būq* — the horn) are Spanish words which point to the influences of the Arabs in the sheep-breeding industry

Of all facets of country life, it is in the home and its activities that the Arabs have left their strongest imprint The beauty and comfort of the Andalusian abode of today is no different from that of the Muslim home in Arab Spain A Spanish housewife going about her *tarea* — task, *(tarīhah* — task) trying to *ahorrar* — to save, *(al-waffara* — to save) time, is suddenly surprised by the arrival of the *albañiles* — masons, *(al-bannā'* — the builder) and *alarife* — architect, *(al-'arīf* — the architect) who came early They have come to build her a new home of adobe (*al-tùb* — the brick) — sun dried bricks

As the masons toiled, they drank from a *jarra* — water jug, *(jarrah* — water jug) by letting a stream from the spout fall through the air into their mouths — a method of drinking brought to Spain by the Arabs Meanwhile, the housewife prepared for the workmens' dinner· *albóndiga* — meat balls, (*al-bunduq* — the filbert) and *alboronía* — vegetable stew, *(al-būrānīya* — the eggplant stew) with which she would serve *escabeches* — pickles, (*al-sikbāj* — the pickling brine) The meal would end with *alajú* — honey sweet, *(al-hashū* — the stuffing) accompanied by *almíbar* — a sweet drink, (*al-miba* — a quince drink) and/or *café* — coffee, (*qahwa* — coffee).

The countryside, especially in southern and eastern Spain, is dotted with place names of Arab origin The *Guads,* from the Arabic, *(wādī* — valley); *Medinas,* (madīna — city), *Alcalás,* (al-qal'a — the fort); and *Alcázars,* (al-qasr — the palace) have become as Spanish as bull-fighting which, itself, is believed to have been initiated by the Moors There are still well over a 1,000 place names of Arab origin to be found in every part of the country.

The expulsion of the Moors with their farming skills from Spain deprived the land of its prosperity and led to a substantial drop in agrarian production This was especially true in the Valencia region and the last

Moorish heartland of the Alpujarras Mountains edging Granada According to A Boyd in *The Road from Ronda,* when Philip II expelled the Moriscos (Muslims forced to convert to Christianity) from the Alpujarras, and repopulated them with Christians from the North, he ordered that two Morisco families must stay in each village to show the new-comers how to irrigate the land In the Valencian *huerta,* after the expulsion of the Moors, the cultivation of sugar-cane was almost extinguished and the production of citrus fruits declined drastically

Arab Spain, which covered little more than fifty percent of the Iberian Peninsula, by its advanced farming techniques supported a population of 30,000,000 — more than the inhabitants of all the European countries in that era. It was to be many years before the remainder of Europe would reach the affluence once found in Al-Andalus.

In that 'earthly paradise' the Arabs had created the flower of the medieval world Today, their remains tell their own story Not only the flourishing, rich Spanish countryside of our times, but the magnificent Mosque of Cordova, the Alcazar of Seville, and the majestic Alhambra of Granada still stand as visual evidence of the greatness of Arab civilization in Spain

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IS THERE LIFE AFTER GRADUATION?

by Paul Greer

THE British Higher Education system is divided into three sectors, one embracing Universities, one Polytechnics and the other, Colleges In general terms, and until recently, the role of each sector has been reasonably clear Universities were designed for the pursuit of academic excellence, Polytechnics and Colleges for training suited to various kinds of work, usually technical or professional That some University courses, such as Medicine and Pharmacy, are obviously geared to those professions, and that it is possible to study Literature or Modern Languages at a College or Polytechnic, does not undermine the general objective of each sector This is reflected not only in course content, but in the backgrounds of teaching staff However, the old chestnut 'academic or vocational?', often previously discussed largely in abstract terms, is again ripe for debate This time, though, the arguments must be especially coherent and bolstered by hard evidence to earn a hearing There are two main reasons prompting rigour and urgency

One is that in the course of the past forty years, annual graduate output in Britain has increased from roughly twenty thousand to over a hundred thousand During the same period, however, the labour force has grown only from twenty-one million to twenty-four. Today's graduates therefore undertake a much wider range of jobs than they once did Some jobs within this broader range may be contrary to many people's concept of what constitutes fit employment for a graduate, or cause them to wonder whether a degree is necessary in preparation for certain kinds of work.

The second reason is that the present government, while not dismissive of academic values, has an educational resourcing policy which favours institutions and departments whose function or course content is vocationally fruitful This pragmatic stance is at odds with the broad philosophy of Universities which, ostensibly at least, have argued their right to existence on the basis of a perceived role as educators rather than as trainers, even of an elite While it would be unfair to caricature this outlook by branding it lofty idealism, across-the-board belt-tightening has encouraged much closer scrutiny of abstract values Academia has therefore become much more conscious of the need to justify expenditure through tangible results — in other words, students placed in work, and, from courses which offer vocational training

The job-growth areas for graduate-level entrants are in the following fields electronics, maths and computing, engineering (especially electronic, telecommunications and chemical), Civil Service specialisms, including tax and law, accountancy, banking and economics, retail management (particularly in the fast-food industry), the primary sector of the teaching profession, and within the secondary sector such subjects as Maths, Physics, Craft and Design Technology, Business Studies and Languages Areas of job decline are the Biological and Environmental

Sciences, some non-specialist areas of the Public Service, secondary teaching (with the above exceptions) and in further study and training generally Losses in industry have been offset by growth in the financial and commercial sector, where, since 1974, there has been continuous increase in graduate employment However, this has slowed during the past four or five years, and may be levelling off Accountancy, retail and computing are the main growth areas here

Surveys made by individual departments and by careers advisory services within Higher Education give rise to some important general observations One is that the year following graduation tends to be transitional, both in the sense of graduates taking more than one attempt to find the right sort of job, and because even minimal work experience in some fields acts formally or informally as a passport to work of a more challenging and responsible nature Career patterns tend to be much more predictable for students from vocational courses than those from non-vocational ones Nevertheless, in almost all subjects, the majority of graduates are in their preferred occupation after about five years, the involuntary unemployment rate being by that stage only about 2% By then, however, half of the graduate total have left their first employer

At one time, Polytechnics were in many quarters thought inferior to Universities, but this is much less true now, with many of the former having deservedly excellent reputations However, except where a course is available only at a Polytechnic, Universities still appear to be favoured by applicants where there is a comparatively high rate of graduate unemployment in that field, examples being Psychology and Geography Where job opportunities are abundant, there appears to be little or no difference in the respective application figures Subject examples here might be Law and Engineering In no area where courses are offered by both types of institution, however, do Polytechnics as a whole seem to be actually favoured, though particular courses may enjoy great popularity

Perhaps the most spectacular increase over the past ten years or so is in regard to women graduates If we compare 1985 with 1975, we find an increase of women University graduates from 34% of the University total, to 41%, and in Polytechnics an even more emphatic 26% to 43% Women still opt mainly for courses in Education, Languages and the Arts, and when we survey University Engineering and Technology courses, still fewer than one graduate in ten is a woman Except in the field of Applied Science, women graduates are less likely than men to be unemployed six months after graduation, though this may be partly explained by the significantly higher proportion of male students doing further academic study, a fact which may have a significant bearing on the relative advancement of each group once both have been in employment for some time

Sandwich courses are another area worth commenting on, though they represent only about 5% of University courses, compared to about 30% of Polytechnic ones 1985 figures indicate that while 52% of all Polytechnic students gained full-time employment, for those on sandwich

courses the overall figure shoots to 74%. Particularly impressive is the Polytechnic sandwich course placement rate in the field of Maths and Computing, where it stands at 82%

Courses in subjects such as Medicine, Dentistry and Computer Science are obviously vocationally-specific, with the strong likelihood that their graduates will advance into the related occupations. However, while opinions vary as to the exact proportion, it is fairly safe to say that between a third and a half of all suitable opportunities are open to graduates of any discipline So many jobs being open regardless of academic focus suggests that employers are looking for general qualities of mind rather than specific, readily-applicable knowledge

Knowledge aside, the vocational course paints a clearer picture of what a student has mastered because of its ready itemization of what he or she has done, through, for instance, specific exercises and perhaps the use of equipment or application of recognised methods With some exceptions, academic courses tend to be characterised by paperwork (rather than, say, using hardware or forming a usable product) and by individual effort (rather than problem-solving by negotiation, formal or informal) Relaxed lecture and tutorial sessions, with often only minimal obligation to participate, means that effort need be only sporadic if interest is less than intense Written assignments must be fulfilled, of course, but even here, the library can provide a rich vein of ready-made ideas and arguments to amply satisfy demands

I do not mean to suggest by this that students are in the main intellectually lazy or devoid of originality. Nor do I question that three years' study of literature, history or a foreign language can be of substantial benefit What I am saying is that the phrase 'training the mind', oft-invoked in defence of academic courses particularly, requires substantiation. We need to be more specific about what is on offer At the moment it seems that not only are the acquisition of particular skills and benefits left to chance, but that, even if they are acquired, it may be difficult if not impossible to say how this has come about Professors of literature may fume, but it does not seem unreasonable, given the resources which are devoted to the study of English, to ask what, in fairly specific terms, a student can be expected to have gained, at least scholastically, by studying 'King Lear', without denying that some of the benefits may be genuinely difficult to detect or quantify The alacrity with which some students of literature sell their books after Finals, and their indifference subsequently to discuss, let alone further pursue their degree subject, suggests that the benefits of study are neither explained nor obvious. As an Arts graduate, I say this not to pillory literary studies, but by way of example In defence, it may be advanced that students of literature have a better command of language than their vocation-oriented peers However, facility in language seems more likely to develop with use rather than through study, regarding speech, at least Whether writing skills are superior may depend more on the rigour of argument evi-

denced in assignments rather than on reading recognised works. From these admittedly briefly-sketched points I would now like to relate their essence to the concepts of staff recruiters

Not all employers know what they want in a graduate The company whose graduate-beckoning job advert sugests that the successful applicant will be ambitious, decisive, innovative, imaginative and a skilful communicator, will not only be very fortunate to get a twenty-one year old who matches the description, but may well find it hard to use his/her talents if he/she possesses them. Many organisations are not really the horizon-scanning powerhouses they would have us believe, and this is true of both public and private sectors. In the former this is more understandable, since growth potential may be governed by budgetary restrictions or rationalisation, both local and national In the private sector, where expansion is usually possible (though not always desirable), there is less excuse for waste of talent. The larger organisations which make sizeable graduate intakes each year may be considered especially good at picking able people and injecting sufficient stimulus into their training to encourage fidelity In fairness, many do this, but the trick seems to be to afford sufficient outlet for the exercise of skills in real situations and so confirm learning by experience There is still perhaps too emphatic a division between training and responsible work. In short, and to relate back to the original point, some organisations have jumped on the graduate bandwagon, recruiting academics without the means to assess whether they are likely to prove good investments, or whether the organisation itself can make their work satisfying This suggests ambivalence — a fascination with and readily-accorded respect for the intellectually capable, coupled with a sneaking suspicion that they cannot really be trusted to get the job done

While many graduates are recruited as specialists, a sizeable number are groomed for management. British industry is not noted for freedom from friction between staff and management and, while historical and cultural reasons can legitimately be advanced as part of the explanation, the kind of people who manage are also a factor It is true that the people around negotiating-tables are unlikely to be recent graduates, but if those who are adopt inflexible views, to which newcomers must to some extent acquiesce, organisations may inherit entrenched mentalities 'at the top'. While it is not the brief of Universities to churn out management material, it is up to organisations to examine management-related problems and conclude whether altered recruitment, for instance, the selection of graduates who, on assessment, have shown qualities different from those traditionally demanded, might be a better bet, nor need all the effort be on one side If many students have only a vague idea of which demonstrable qualities and aptitudes might help them to get a job, is some input related to this too much to ask within a three-year programme?

With their existence threatened, or at least reduced resources the possible reward for unimpressive placement statistics, it seems curious

that many departments seem indifferent to the sort of remedial action suggested above Students appear to be left largely to their own devices in their final year, and while from an academic standpoint this may be wise, it does not follow that it is so vocationally While it is true that most University, Polytechnic and College careers services have only a tiny staff, some have the manpower to make educational inroads of the kind proposed Departmental indifference stems less from charity to the overworked than from a myopic view of students' futures The prevalent motto seems to be 'get the best degree you can, and you'll have less to worry about at job-hunting time'. This blindly competitive philosophy over-rides the more reasonable approach of trying to ensure that as many students as possible find congenial work through a knowledge of the job-market and their own merits which relate to it.

Informational inputs and group talks and discussions on career topics, to add to the library facilities and interview appointments system traditionally available, could be very helpful This is because students, assumed to be adept at using resource materials, can find them difficult to use properly if they remain unexplained This leads to random perusal and eventual neglect More generally, the services of campus careers staff are the more urgent at Universities, where the majority of staff lack experience in industry or commerce, so often the backgrounds of their counterparts in Polytechnics and Colleges

My conclusion is this it needs to be more widely acknowledged in Higher Education circles that there is life after graduation, and that, by and large, this means life with employment Given the tender years of most students, institutions should regard it as some part of their responsibility to give them a good chance of finding congenial work It is not enough to provide an on-campus agency which relies on self-referrals, since many students who need help will not avail themselves of this Nor, however, need academic syllabuses be revised from scratch The introduction of occasional lectures or discussion sessions throughout a course, or a single major module during, perhaps, the penultimate year of study, would do much to improve the situation These suggestions would mean little change in institutions which already take this question seriously In those where academic values are thought paramount, only a small amount of compromise is necessary, and that with time, not with ideals. If what I am advocating were put into practice, a larger segment of the academic world would be seen as providing a springboard for employment rather than acting as a haven from it

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'CHRIST, YOU'RE A WORKING MAN'

by Jane O'Grady

Jesus Jesus Christ, be on our side today, not with the class that oppresses, that squeezes and swallows what all should possess, but with these poor and oppressed ones

THIS is the version of the *Kyrie Eleison* in the Nicaraguan Peasants' Mass which was sung recently (mostly in Spanish) at St Aloysius Church in Kings Cross, London. When I asked a priest for one of the leaflets containing an English translation, he said there were none left, they had not expected so many people — rather with the pride of a producer with a full house But the four Nicaraguan singers (including Godoy the composer) playing the accordion, guitar, marracas and castanets, and the quartet and singers often accompanying them, were not a mere lure for a larger congregation like the guitar-playing vicars of the '60s. The songs in the Mass (partly written by Ernesto Cardenal) really do regard it as a celebration, not a reluctant Sunday duty

They assume the congregation's eagerness to be there and 'sweet delight of heart-flung fellow feeling', a fellow feeling that extends to God as well He is addressed as 'comrade', described as 'a worker', engineer of the universe When singing in the Creed of Christ's suffering, the composer turned from his singing companions and excitedly pointed out the crucifix above the altar But the Mass was saying that Christ is not a figure 'out there' — in history, in art. He is one of us, 'beaten, treated with scorn, martyred', suffering under Pontius Pilate, 'the imperialist Roman'. He can be seen checking lorry tyres and selling lottery tickets When, later in the Creed, they sang 'You still rise again each time we raise an arm to defend the people from profiteering dominion', it was at once a political message and a powerful reminder of an important Christian theme, usually buried under the lumber of Catholic guilt and ceremony — that Christ's 'fearful suffering brought forth the new human being, born for freedom'.

Carlos Godoy, the composer, was visiting London during a European concert tour He comes from a musical family His brother, Luis, is also a composer and his father was a popular singer, though not political Carlos only became politicised in 1969, on witnessing the death, at the hands of an entire battalion, of a young poet, Leonel Rugama Communications and the mass media are in the control of big business, Godoy says the peasants have little access to information, and are illiterate He regards song as a way of getting them together, politicising them 'Song is able to break the silence'.

In the West, the 'personal is political' slogan tends merely to denote how the personal is politicised in the context of an individual's 'love life'. In Nicaragua, it is the political that is personalised, and many of the best love songs are about love for Nicaragua Last summer the musician Billy Bragg visited Managua as a guest of the Ministry of Culture, and went from there to New York, where, joined by Carlos Godoy's brother Luis,

he performed in a peace concert for Nicaragua. (They are touring together in London and Glasgow this November) Meanwhile there were three Nicaraguan peace concerts in Britain, featuring, among others, Tom Robinson, Robby Coltrane, Tom Watts, Hugh Maskela, the Bundi Boys, Star Council and the Nicaraguan poet Carlos Rigby Carlos Goday insists that 'the Contras won't win — they have no singers'

The support of the arts is not infallible In the Spanish Civil War, the Republicans had all the best singers, and lost But Carlos, like his brother Luis, who sings of 'a people born between rifle and song', clearly hopes that song will help stamp out the rifles Together, they tour villages and war zones, playing to the soldiers, often under extremely dangerous conditions — 'the Nicaraguan equivalent of Vera Lynn', according to a member of the Nicaraguan Solidarity Campaign, 'though musically better'.

But why religious songs, why a Mass? Godoy feels that the people of Nicaragua are very religious The position of the Catholic Church is not clearcut as it is in Poland, where it can be seen as a champion of liberty (and could in fact be said to be jumping on a bandwagon) The Church in Nicaragua is split Much of it supports the oppressed and what Godoy was translated as calling the 'fair' way or the 'true' way But much of it supports the Contras, including high-up members of the Church — among them, it would seem, the new cardinal, Obando y Bravo, who celebrated mass in Miami with the Contra leaders (among them members of Somoza's National Guard, possibly even of Somoza's family), on his way back from being appointed in Rome. Godoy himself is a Christian, but not a practising Catholic Although from the age of 10 to 14 he was in a school training boys for the priesthood, he later left the Catholic Church, feeling it to be 'on the side of dictatorships and imperialists'. He says that his relationship with the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional has led him to be more sympathetic to the Church. 'In this context the Mass was born'

The translator of the Mass, Dinah Livingstone, and Francis McDonagh, editor for the Catholic Institute for International Relations, first met Carlos Godoy in Camden Town Hall at the mayor's reception during the first part of his tour They said how much they would like his mass to be sung in London Enthused, Godoy said why not do it on Easter Sunday with an accompanying orchestra, which sounded too magnificent a scheme to be practical Yet there in St Aloysius on the Sunday after Easter, the Mass *was* sung, accompanied by a quartet from the Guildhall — the mellowness of violin and cello, and a flute's poignancy, blended with the Nicaraguans' strumming, whooping and castanetting, and Nicaragua's exuberance and anger being spread to an almost entirely English congregation, and even beyond (especially since there are records of Godoy's Mass, and cassettes would be coming out shortly) St Aloysius' usual congregation of 90 had swelled to 500, and included the Dean of St. Pauls and the Nicaraguan Ambassador, his wife and children At the end everyone linked hands and swayed in time to the music

The Mass was sung in St Aloysius, under the auspices of the Catholic

Institute for International Relations, Church Action for Central America, St Aloysius One World Committee and the Camden Council. Those who object that the Mass, its enactment, and the part of the Catholic Church supporting the Sandinistas, are political, forget to condemn the other part of the Church which supports the Contras They also forget the new emphasis in the Church since Vatican II, and may not know that the Vatican document ('Christian Freedom and Liberation') brought out on April 5th, 1986 states that 'situations of grave injustice demand the suppression of unjustified privileges, and courageous and radical reforms', and is seen by many in the Vatican as endorsing freedom fighting, though preferring civil disobedience Maybe this is no longer a church which smugly celebrates 'the rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate'. The new form of the *confiteo* (or Rite of Penance) in the vernacular Mass current since Vatican II asks forgiveness not only 'for the things we have done' but 'for the things we have failed to do' While we as individuals, in the West, remain entrenched in our castle, we are committing one of the worst sins — lack of charity

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THE DIMINISHING RATE OF CONTRACTING-OUT

by Mark Cook

EVEN if the Conservatives had not won the General Election the spread of privatisation or contracting-out by the local authorities would have come again under scrutiny by the end of the year After the initial enthusiasm for contracting-out, following the 1980 Local Government Planning and Land Act, interest seems to have waned. There was supposed to be new vigour injected into the process, but the dropping of the provisions to force local authorities into privatising services, embedded in the Local Government Bill of 1987 will not see any major changes in the current status quo There is no doubt that local authority provision of services will change following the June election but will it be for more or less contracting-out — and why all this furore over contracting out?

The 1980 Local Government, Planning and Land Act required that Direct Labour organisations (DLO's) compete with private companies over a wide range of tasks such as refuse collection, street cleaning, gardening, housing and so on, that separate accounts be produced to show results of DLO performance and the DLOs must earn 5% rate of return on capital employed Yet the Act has hardly altered the practices of local authorities in deciding on the allocation of contracts Although a survey in the Local Government Chronicle noted that 60 out of 373 councils had privatised something in the financial year 1985-86 i e 16%, up from 11-13% in previous surveys, county councils, which spend a lot more than the districts, had done little The sums involved are tiny around £11 5 a year compared with a total council budget of £31b. In fact this hides the real facts, some local authorities, although contracting-out a service have now placed the contract back with the DLO, suggesting that the DLOs have learnt about the tendering process

On the other hand, the arrival of more specialist companies into the market will probably see the proportion of contracts contracted-out beginning to rise in the future — with or without Government legislation.

Why this apparent lack of desire for contracting-out? Under the strict financial targets that central government has set the local and district authorities contracting-out, at a lower cost, seems attractive Such a truism is correct so long as councils are concerned with costing — since it is equally possible, and highly likely from the evidence, that the DLO could put in the lowest tender Although we might regard value for money as a main reason for contracting-out, DoE officials suggested that it springs from what they call 'the broader political philosophy' or perhaps to the reason John Blundell suggests, ' . by contracting-out, complaints are aimed at the private contractor rather than at the DLO/local/district authority'

From the local authority there are also covert pressures not to privatise Firstly, councillors are not professionals and they may, therefore, tend to

maintain traditional methods of provision rather than looking for new alternatives, furthermore, at the early stages of contracting-out there was also no history or guidelines about how the procedures should be done Secondly, even if a service is privatised, the political effort and fight might be enormous — and the result, 1p or 2p off the rates Thirdly, public sector employees have an interest in resisting change

Private contractors are also not happy with the tendering process. Current tender documents, they suggest, bear little resemblence to specimen documents in 1983 and with less than one third of tenders being settled the glut now coming forward means that private firms do not have time to look at some potential contracts and turn them down immediately.

Some local/district councils have 'nailed to the mast' their desire for contracting-out regardless of some of its hidden costs They may have been too quick to assume their role as leader of the 'contracting-out brigade' and have run into difficulties; an example is Solihull with its cleaning contracts. But behind their thinking are some important factors. Their belief is that DLOs are inefficient and are over-manned and such is the degree of procedure in the work, particularly with the 'task and finish' system that working patterns are extremely rigid Given this rigidity, instead of taking on the unions, contracting-out has come to their rescue The pursuit of contracting-out for its own sake might be their motto It might also be seen as an attempt to restructure working practices i e an opportunity to claw-back important gains that organised labour had made over the post-war period. In reality, privatisation can mean 'different things in relation to different types of public services in different parts of the country'.

But is the comparison of the direct costs a valid one when assessing who should have the contract? There are also implicit costs which should also be taken into account when assessing tenders. Contracting-out can lead to industrial unrest. One of the most notable instances was Wandsworth's acceptance of a private contractor for its refuse collection, street cleaning, and garden maintenance This decision resulted in organised action both by workers whose jobs were directly affected and those not directly involved, for example, employees in administrative posts, telephonists, computer staff and so on

The action dragged-on for some months, Wandsworth were unlikely to have assessed this in their desire for contracting-out Currently, London's bus workers are taking action over London Regional Transport's policy at competitive tendering Even the threat of industrial action may be sufficient for some councils to drop their proposals to invite tenders. The cost of implementing the Act has also proved to be considerable, particularly in the monitoring of the private sector contract, with estimates of costs rising by 7%, outweighing any savings to be obtained through the removal of the contract to the private sector. Of those that had made organisational changes many found they incurred costs — usually increased staffing, but there were also costs from changes to, or refinement of, computer systems.

Additional expenditure occurred because of the requirements imposed upon them by the 1980 legislation i e extra work preparing tender documents etc Some councils have had to go as far as the introduction of new accounting or contract management systems Given the above, although three quarters of councils felt that contracting-out had resulted in greater value for money, only just over one half believed that they had secured a net reduction in costs It is estimated that the administration costs would have been even higher for the new legislation

A further cost, not seen in the short-run, is the problem of what happens to the DLO. If it is disbanded after the contract is lost, then the councils have no workforce to fall back on if the contract with the private contractor does not prove to be satisfactory, resulting in them recruiting more staff Moreover, because of their reduction in in-house work local authorities will lose the expertise that went with the particular work and be unable to provide a suitable career structure to attract staff of the right calibre Additionally, with a public workforce a body of knowledge is built up and a quality of expertise that is not instantly available to private contractors.

A further problem is that when a contract comes up for renewal, if the DLO lost in the previous round of tendering they may find it difficult to try to win back the contract as existing management structures, establishment patterns and negotiating arrangements may have ceased In the initial costings, the problem of redundancy payments must also be faced by the local/district authorities For example, Basingstoke and Deane Borough Council estimate a loss in the financial year 1984-85 of £190,000 because of severance/redundancy payments in their contracting-out of refuse collection It would appear, therefore, that to obtain the long-run net gain some councils may have to face short-term losses

Another indirect cost which should also be considered is the cost of facilities and premises that may have to be provided to the private contractor, thereby losing income and/or incurring an opportunity cost. It is also not obvious when assessing alternative tenders for a particular contract whether one tender is better than another, since it is possible for the DLO and the private contractor to use different accounting systems which makes valid comparisons difficult Even if this problem can be overcome, the desire to retain a contract in-house may lead to 'creative accounting'. This disguises the real facts beneath a plethora of published information which in itself increases costs The danger of this is that meddling in the detail discourages the development of a positive and energetic management regime in an attempt to hide the true facts in order that the current legislation can be surmounted The private contractor may also tender at a loss in order to get a foothold in the market Furthermore, private contractors can choose which work to bid for and which activities to be cross-subsidised, local authorities are unable to do this. What of those authorities who have contracted out? Certainly, there have been problems As already indicated some of Solihull's private contracts for school cleaning have suffered from innumerable complaints that in

one instance lead to the council cancelling the contract at one school after five months whilst Plymouth City Council has rescinded its deck-chair service from a local private firm Part of the problem lies with the councils who have not thought through the change, but another feature in the initial stages is that the private contractor may not know precisely what is expected of him, though any problems in this area can be overcome with the learning process or a revised contract

Whether the loss of the contract to the private sector has affected the workforce harshly is also a moot point It is possible for sufficient safeguards and constraints to be built into the contract. The Local Government Act 1972, section 1351 allows the local authority to select conditions under which the contract will be offered They could state that the contractee should take-up a proportion of those workers made redundant if the DLO loses the contract or even stipulate that a number of apprentices should be taken on each year (as is done in Leeds) Whether these are fair or not is open to question; furthermore, private contractors, given these constraints, may be put-off in tendering for the contract On the wage front, proponents to contracting-out have pointed to the increased wages received by those remaining in employment Here also is another reason why the private contractor has an advantage in tendering — their total labour costs are lower since they employ fewer people, even though they may pay the individual employee a greater salary If individual wages are higher this may disguise employee losses in sick pay, overtime options and so on

The need to be competitive on all aspects of costs and returning a rate of return on capital of 5% may result in some parts of the original service not being offered at all, particularly if this 5% is viewed as a minimum figure. This is the traditional opportunity cost approach. This may be true even if the contract stays with the DLO, as is pointed out by the TUC in *Contractor's Failures the Privatisation Experience* Furthermore, the desire for such contracts may invite corruption and simply replace an in-house monopoly with a private monopoly — something that has been happening on a national level — yet in the local context, for the limited period of the contract Some monopolies may make it difficult for local authorities to monitor and enforce the terms of the contract This will become increasingly the case as fewer private firms compete for contracts At present two private contractors dominate the street cleaning, refuse collection, office and school cleaning markets As John Blundell notes, this may not be all that disadvantageous since if we allow competitive tendering of the sort where part goes to one firm and part goes to another then it is possible that these smaller firms cannot afford the capital outlay for the 'best, up-to-date' equipment and the idea of privatisation for efficiency receives a severe jolt. Contrary to this we may see private contractors using their monopoly position to restrict entry to potential competitors.

There is no doubt that privatisation of local services has altered the direct costs faced by the local and district authorities, but is this what

the Government would like to see? If they wished to see a greater involvement of the private sector then this has not occurred. Part of the explanation may be due to the private contractors themselves. The constraints applied to a contract by the local authorities may make the contract unattractive to the private sector. There may be uncertainty too, for the private contractor, when there are changes in the political colour of the local/district authorities. This is a problem too for the authority who may have to honour a contract which they feel should be placed elsewhere But perhaps the most important factor is the degree of profit margin in such contracts The 1980 Act has resulted in a much more efficient use of DLOs with an associated reduction in costs perhaps because of the changes in working practices that have occurred under the 'threat' of contracting-out, though creative accounting may be responsible for some of the 'reduction' in costs The degree to which private contractors can undercut DLO tenders is therefore reduced

Some local authorities run their traditional operations very efficiently and as Gears suggests with respect to waste management, an area that has been the most popular for contracting-out, '. . . we have reached the conclusion that there is only one problem with refuse collection . . and that's making money out of it'. This is a point echoed also by the Audit Commission From the local authority side, contracting-out has come at the right time given the financial constraints many are under. Furthermore, with nearly three million unemployed there is little danger that unions will put up a sustained fight to prevent a contract going to a private employer, particularly if a local authority is striving hard for a change in contract ownership

For the rate-payer, they obtain similar services but at lower costs and with better equipment, but this may be only a short term gain since there is a danger of private contractors amalgamating, turning the market into an oligopolistic one with a degree of cartelisation.

Costs are not always less after privatisation for all groups For example, in Southend business interests found their refuse collection charges rising, whilst in Cardiff the liberalisation of their bus service showed little evidence that ratepayers had experienced any real gains In fact what this indicates is that there is no hard and fast rule to suggest, on a national level, that privatisation will reduce costs We need to concern ourselves with each micromarket to assess the winners and losers Moreover, contracting-out provides opportunities/profits for private companies who have been under presure with the recession since 1980

Competitive tendering may also alter the market For example, in street cleaning many vehicles are leased instead of being owned since a competitive firm or DLO does not want vehicles 'on its hands' if it loses a contract Private contractors may also benefit from the existence of DLOs Local authorities may be harsher task-masters and if a job is not up to standard then they are quickly onto the problem. It is unlikely that private contractors will apply the rules as vigorously. On a more subtle level, competitive tendering may imply that competition is what the local

authorities want This is cast in doubt by Blundell where he suggests that local authorities might be in a position where they are persuaded that the private contractor is 'better', especially if the service offered by the DLO was rather restrictive in choice. In other words, private contractors are taking an active rather than a passive role.

Like the change in the rules of the game with the National Bus Company, the Government is seeking ways in which contracting-out can be hastened Under a consultation paper *Competition in the Provision of Local Authority Services* they proposed that compulsory tendering would be initially extended to five key services refuse collection and street cleansing; cleaning buildings; vehicle maintenance; and catering services This would have involved £2 5b of council work being put out to private tender and affected nearly half of the country's million local authority manual workers The loss of provision in the Local Government Bill of 1987 means that currently, in the privatisation context, local authorities need not permit private companies to compete for a contract, while councils can still impose conditions on the granting of contracts It waits to be seen whether the provisions deleted from the act will be introduced in the future Without these it would seem unlikely that contracting-out will take place on a large scale especially since the mere word seems to increase the efficiency of DLOs. Had a Labour Government been returned at the recent General Election, they might have seen no reason to change the current state of affairs and even turned the clock back

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THE EMINENT AND THE RAILWAYS

by Owen Humberstone Prosser

THE death in August, 1984, of Mr. J. B. Priestley when within one month of his ninetieth birthday meant the departure of the figure who was arguably Britain's most distinguished man of letters Whether as playwright, essayist, broadcaster or novelist he had long shown a skill in all these crafts It is not widely known, however, that he was one of the leaders of pro-rail public opinion.

When in the previous May an equally famous writer passed away in the person of our former Poet Laureate, Sir John Betjeman, his championship of railways was so well known as an essential part of his aura that few obituaries failed to mention it Love of trains manifested itself in many ways with Sir John. To cite but a few, one can recall that way back in 1952 he immediately accepted the Senior Vice-Presidency of The Railway Development Association (now Society) and in the duties of that office always proved most willing to help As member number one of the pioneer Talyllyn Railway Preservation Society (the world's first body of its kind and the pace-setter for the dozens of others that have stemmed from its example at home and overseas) the then Mr Betjeman wrote a splendid and hard-hitting foreword to *Railway Adventure* There could be no better introduction to what the late L. T. C Rolt had to tell of his two years of management Again, by letter in *The Times* of September 12, 1959, Sir John emphasized with customary forcefulness and literary polish one of the main criticisms then levelled at the former British Transport Commission's wholesale closure policy This was that it did not take sufficient account of contributory revenue from feeder lines to the trunk network.

The late Mr. Priestley was much less recognized as a supporter of rail transport In fact, for many years he was better known for being antipathetic to one of its manifestations, electric light railways serving our cities by streets or reserved track. While many railway enthusiasts cast a sympathetic eye on tramways, and some of the best known, such as Mr W. A. Camwell of Birmingham, devoted a life time to both photographing and advocating them, the great writer we mourn was definitely anti-tram and disfigured numbers of his otherwise delightful books by hostile and disdainful references to those harmless and humble servants of mankind, now so much missed in some of the places they served that Tyneside and East London have got them back in modernised form and Birmingham plans to do likewise Mr Priestley was, of course, entitled to apply to his *bêtes noirs* the sentiments voiced by Shakespeare in his play set in Roman times by saying 'I come to bury tramways, not to praise them' — but only, of course, if he distinguished between personal opinion and facts When he failed to do this in an autumn, 1944, broadcast called 'Trouble at the Tram Stop' he not only incurred in the December issue of *Modern Tramway* the strictures of its honorary editor, the late Mr.

Wingate H. Bett, but the condemnation of a reputable professional journal. *Transport World* for November, 1944, characterised his broadcast as 'misleading and unjustified by the facts'.

As a gentleman who went on record as saying he never fancied driving a car (though he did not mind travelling in one with a chauffeur at the wheel), Mr. Priestley must have felt that he had sufficient vested interest in keeping public transport to do something about it. So, for many years, as their letter headings bore witness, he served as a Vice-President of the National Council on Inland Transport, the rail advocacy group set up in the early 1960s by the late Lord Stonham to oppose such Beeching closures as were planned in, and took place during, the period in office of the Conservative Government which lost office in October, 1964 With the change to a Labour administration, Lord Stonham assumed office under the present Lord Wilson, whose Government countenanced an increased annual rate of closures in spite of election promises not to do so The other NCIT officers, however, notably the successive honorary secretaries, Messrs. Roger Calvert and Klaus Meyer under the presidency of the Earl of Kinnoull and chairmanship of Dr. A W. T. Daniel, saw rail advocacy as a non-party political cause and kept on fighting closures.

Reflecting on the involvement of these two casualties of 1984 (Sir John's vigorous and forthright, Mr. Priestley's in a lower key) reminds one of how, over the years, other creative artists have had through their works or lives connections with rail transport. One who should be mentioned is George Orwell. In his last and most famous book, *1984,* which made a fundamental error in prophesying that by that year we should all be living in terror, he has the lovers going off for a day in the country to secure privacy using steam trains for their trip from Paddington It is interesting to note that Professor Bernard Crick, in his 1980 biography of George Orwell, quotes a correspondent whose reminiscences link its subject with the 3 foot gauge line which from 1879 to 1929 served the Suffolk coastal resort where he then lived. These recollections mention that as a young boy in the early 1930s, having lessons from the author known in Southwold as Eric Blair, his teacher showed fearlessness in crossing the River Blyth by the disused bridge at Walberswick which had until shortly before carried the narrow gauge from Halesworth. The boy was scared of falling off on to the mud below, but Blair (Orwell) strode over unconcernedly, sometimes pushing a bike over the narrow girders!

Since their initiation in Britain over 150 years ago and subsequent extension to most civilized parts of the world, railways became so closely interwoven into the fabric of life that they naturally figured in a great deal of fiction. It is, therefore, all the more remarkable that railways as such have not provided the foundation themes of any great novels in the same way as was done with aircraft in his best books by Nevil Shute The design and operation of a type of aeroplane in *No Highway,* for instance, made an integral part of a gripping narrative told by one of the century's best story-tellers in a way no writer has done equally well with the train. Although in *The Chequer Board* the same author brought

in a railway episode (repairs and then use in Burma during the immediate post-war period of locomotives the Japanese had tried to disable) and did it quite nicely.

Going back a little further to when the guns were still firing in World War II, the period in which Evelyn Waugh set his trilogy of three books, *Sword of Honour,* describes Captain Guy Crouchback, travelling to the west for his father's funeral, changing onto a branch line journey with disguised place names Taunton was in fact the junction, Watchet on the Minehead branch the destination Mr Waugh, a gentleman by all accounts of fiery temper and unlimited capacity for indignation, would as a local resident had he lived to see it, been even more annoyed than other North Somerset folk at the artificial and unnatural factors which have stultified efforts to get the branch linked up again with British Rail

Charles Dickens, himself nearly killed in the Staplehurst derailment of 1865 is as far as descriptions of travel are concerned, best known for his accounts of journeys in horse-drawn road coaches In *Dombey and Son,* however, he dealt with the London scene when widespread demolitions of property were being carried out in preparation for building the route into Euston. One of the minor characters becomes a fireman, though Dickens refers to him as 'stoker' And, although over a hundred years old, Frank Anstey's immortal *Vice Versa,* which retains its sparkling humour as fresh and scintillating as when it came out in 1882, has several episodes with a railway background, as when Paul Bultitude, magically transformed into his son, Dick, tries to escape from boarding school He shares a misfortune many of us have suffered in missing his train through a tardy passenger being at the booking office hatch, is hidden in a broom and paraffin store; and when concealed under the compartment seat to avoid detection suffers agonies when hearing the conversation of the other occupants

A counterpoise to the fun that ensues in the train ride of a respectable tea merchant turned schoolboy is found in a tale that the authoress, Amelia B Edwards, like all who delve into the supernatural, hoped to make terrifying Of all the places where one could go in the hope of avoiding the risk of meeting a spectre, surely the footplate of a locomotive racing through the countryside would rank high? Yet in *The Engineer,* a story published in 1866 — the year the Talyllyn started carrying passengers — a ghost appears and serves the beneficent purpose of preventing a distraught train driver from destroying himself and his passengers

Vicki Baum was probably the best German lightweight novelist of the inter-war years and in *Grand Hotel* we have well-drawn characters and a realization of ordinary people's outlook justifying her own self-assessment: 'A first-class writer of the second rank' This is akin to Priestley's well known judgement on himself 'Not a genius, but with a hell of a lot of talent' In fact, Priestley incurred criticism because of his admiration for Miss Baum from those who thought her unworthy of it She tells us of the burgler, Baron Gaigern, who, when about to be discovered in the hotel bedroom, 'was like a powerful locomotive under steam, fuelled and

charged with atmospheric pressure causing it to vibrate from the centre through every part, and ready to launch itself with irresistible impetus'. Here was a lady who noted what she saw at the end of what were then *Reichsbahn* stations and stored up the impression.

In *The Years that are Past* Countess Lloyd George used a well-sustained railway metaphor to cover how, as the then Miss Frances Stevenson, she saw a new department emerge to overcome wartime shortages 'How we got that lumbering, improvised machine of the Ministry of Munitions to move I cannot think. But with Lloyd George as driver it did move in spite of the fact that he had to keep getting down from the footplate to remove obstacles from his course . but it moved and with increasing momentum. One thing never happened· it was never shunted into a siding! And it reached its destination well ahead of time.' Whether or not it was a conscious or unconscious echo of her late husband's *War Memoirs* that led to choice of this image, the fact remains that when recounting how, in August 1914, the nations drifted into conflict, he wrote that· 'It is incredible that so momentous an issue should have been handled in so unbusinesslike and casual a manner When a collision seemed inevitable engine drivers and signalmen lost their heads and pulled the wrong levers The stokers alone did their work'

If the Lloyd Georges knew their railway lore, another of this century's premiers did not. At least, he seems to have fallen victim to the belief that, although the absolute block system of signalling, if operated correctly, should avoid any danger of it, an out-of-course stop is fraught with danger Professor David Marquand in his *Ramsey MacDonald* quotes his subject as affirming· 'No man of sense would imagine, if an engine driver says he puts himself in his hands, that he meant . he would stop in the middle of the journey and cause smashes in consequence'

The Bristol *Evening Post* of September 5, 1984, under the heading 'The Orient Sexpress' reported that 'A couple making love on the Orient Express delayed the luxury train at Innsbruck when the woman's foot hit an emergency device' This, to readers of a Victorian-born novelist who got up to over ninety by surviving to 1965, may have prompted the recollection that the heroine of his *Theatre* indulged in the same tricks on a train somewhere in Europe, but without such dire results

But to return to 'somewhere in Europe'. As the railways grew in sophistication, making possible luxurious travel on the Continent, the possibilities for drama and romance were seized upon by a number of famous writers. Foremost among these was the 'queen of crime', Dame Agatha Christie With her *Mystery of the Blue Train* and *Murder on the Orient Express* an excellent hunting ground was discovered for the Belgian detective, the inimitable Hercule Poirot: weaving his way along crowded corridors to the restaurant car and in and out of first class compartments. It is scarcely surprising that these novels and others like them inspired the film industry to make versions for the popular cinema—until the aeroplane took over as a small closed area in which all manner of exciting events could take place

CORRESPONDENCE

THE IRISH TROUBLES

Dear Madam,

Referring to Roy Morrell's article, 'The Irish and the English' (No. 1458, Vol 251) It seems to me that the Irish Troubles seem to date from the Anglo-Norman Conquest Prior to that, the Irish spoke the Gaelic language and had a Celtic culture They were not conquered by the Romans and were converted to Christianity by St Patrick They were left untouched by the Reformation and Protestantism was introduced into Ulster by Cromwell The Union between Britain and Ireland between 1800 and 1922 was a failure It seems that Ireland was used as a granary to feed Britain during the Industrial Revolution and that the population of Ireland declined while that of Britain increased. The economies of the industrialised north and that of the agricultural south appear to be complementary and its seems impossible to delineate a definite boundary separating the two parts of Ireland It has been proposed to repartition Ireland so that the two Catholic counties of Armagh and Fermanagh could be transferred to the South, leaving the four Protestant counties in the North as a separate state.

The project to build a Channel Tunnel seems at least to be under way. The next logical step is to try and link Britain and Ireland either by means of a bridge or a tunnel. The narrowest part of the Irish Channel is between Scotland and Ulster, which is not much wider than the English Channel It appears, that the stationing of a British army in Northern Ireland acts more as a provocation than a protection Drafted there originally as a result of the Civil Rights Movement in 1969, it has come to be regarded by the Catholic community as an army of occupation The partition of Ireland by Lloyd George in 1922 has cost Ireland dear Britain can no longer afford to keep an army in Northern Ireland, or of subsidising its economy Both measures are counter-productive The army serves as a target for terrorists and the subsidy to the economy of Northern Ireland keeps unemployment there the highest in the United Kingdom It would make more sense to withdraw the army and the subsidy and devote the resources to building a bridge or a tunnel, but the principle of walking across both crossings has been ignored.

Yours faithfully,

Sloane Avenue, London SW3 BENNO WASSERMANN

Literary Supplement

AMERICAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

North America The Historical Geography of a Changing Continent Edited by Robert D Mitchell and Paul A Groves London, Hutchinson 1987. £14 95
A Historical Guide to the U S.A By the Editors of the American Association for State and Local History New York, Norton 1986 $25 00

These two books give a remarkable survey of the major themes in North American history, region by region, and a quick guide to the most important historic sites in each of the fifty States Taken together, the student at his desk or the hurried and hungry traveller on the road are offered useful and tantalising introductions to American history and geography

North America, The Historical Geography is a scholarly job, the work of many hands Yet this synthesis has a remarkable shape and vividness. In part this is due to the editors' emphasis, notably in their mid-nineteenth century sections, on the British North American aspect — i e the Canadian — as well as the U S side of the story, much of it was a similar story, scarred only by the clashes that led to division along the 49th Parallel In part also it owes its quality to the inclusion of much new material The main impact of the book is due, however, to the maps and charts, and their special aptness Thus, if the *Historical Guide* directs the traveller to the location of the Mason-Dixon Line, and even to its Western extremity, north east of Pentress in what is now West Virginia, the historical geography dramatically indicates a more important if less familiar dividing line, the Boll-Weevil line, indicating the limits of that infestation in the early twentieth century which destroyed much of Southern cotton, and which, by doing so, miserably abetted the impact of the Depression of the 1930s on the Deep South This imaginative treatment of both geography and history allows the editors to range with authority from the problems of erosion and dust bowls, through the lands and the law West of the Pecos, to the challenges posed by the steady inflow of immigrants, many of them unwilling, seeking refuge, peace or simple survival in a strange New World

By contrast, the *Historical Guide* is almost too ambitious Each state is rationed to ten pages, so that only two or three sites can be described at any length, followed by a mere listing of the rest Thus Massachusetts has two-page-long pieces on Plymouth Plantation and Lowell — each a vivid vignette — but Old Sturbridge, Nantucket, and the House of the Seven Gables are confined to one line each If Connecticut is poorly done by, the choice of the Bulow Plantation Ruins and of the Flagler Museum in Palm Beach brilliantly opens up the early history of Florida There are similar valiant treatments of Kansas (featuring Eisenhower), Missouri (mainly Truman) and Pennsylvania (strong on 1787) But the touch is erratic The editors would no doubt reply that this volume is but an introduction to the 50-volume series, The States and the Nation Nevertheless the consequence for this volume is of too *multum* in too *parvo*, to coin an awful phrase And where is the District of Columbia, the White House and the Lincoln Memorial?

ESMOND WRIGHT

NUCLEAR WINTER

A World Beyond Healing Nicholas Wade Sidgwick & Jackson. Hardback £12 95

In recent decades a plethora of literature has been produced on the effects of nuclear war on the biosphere and this prompts the question as to whether given this situation, yet another treatise on this subject is necessary Yet a cool dispassionate view of the likely result of a nuclear exchange — relatively devoid of political bias and lacking wider scientific speculation — is always welcome and this Nicholas Wade has succeeded in providing

Early chapters stress that, although for some four decades policies of nuclear deterrence have been successful in maintaining the peace, the mechanisms of command and control are exceedingly fragile Massive and complex organisations have been created both in the USA and the USSR to manage nuclear forces But false alerts can occur in novel and insidious ways, the behaviour of governments in time of crisis may be unpredictable and most serious of all there is the incentive which each side would have for striking first, should war be perceived as inevitable

Much of the remainder of the book is devoted to the catastrophic effects which the unleashing of nuclear war would level on the biosphere Flash, blast, fire and fallout are first discussed and there are good descriptions of the series of events enshrined in the saga of Hiroshima and Nagasaki Medical effects of nuclear war are covered succinctly and authoritatively, consideration being given to such familiar aspects as immediate lethality, medical effects of radiation, public health after nuclear war, psychological sequalae, radiation, the food chain and contaminated drinking water, and the likelihood of a genetic legacy.

The phenomenon known as nuclear winter has only received attention during the 1980's But since then a formidable literature has accumulated much of it based on computer projections in the course of which work more than 50 scenarios have been constructed Atmospheric and biological consequences are reviewed in some detail and here again an admirable middle course is steered between the Scylla of understatement and the Charybdis of rash exaggeration

This book will not point the reader in the direction of original thought but as a sensible middle of the road description clearly enunciated and coherently put together, it forms a significant contribution to a highly topical area

JOHN A. LORAINE

'SOMETHING LIES BEYOND THE SHEEN . . .'

Façade Edith Sitwell (with an interpretation by Pamela Hunter) Duckworth £9 95

For many people not old enough to remember the Twenties, Edith Sitwell is still regarded as a talented eccentric She belonged to an era in which studio performances of mime and verse were forerunners of the fringe theatres of today Eventually, Edith Sitwell was to be universally acknowledged as a major *avant garde* poet and even the curious ritual of delivering her poems from behind a screen was accepted, when the reason for her inability to face an audience was understood In fact, her lack of confidence was a direct legacy of the hostile, even cruel treatment she had endured from her mother during adolescence

Now, an opportunity to reconsider some part of Edith Sitwell's work in a new format is provided by Pamela Hunter, the Australian actress and *diseuse,* with the publication of the twenty-one poems generally known as *Façade* a slender, finely produced volume lavishly illustrated throughout by the endearing, often erotic *Commedia dell'Arte* drawings by the seventeenth century engraver, Jacques Callot The Preface and Introduction by Pamela Hunter are followed by the poems, each one accompanied by a detailed analysis of the subject matter and notes on the sources of inspiration This makes possible an immediate understanding of passages often dismissed as obscure and exposes rich veins of fantasy and humour not forgetting erudition, remarkable in view of Edith Sitwell's haphazard 'school-room' education When William Walton composed music for public and private performances of *Façade* in 1922 and 1923 it was rejected as being too strident and unmelodic Now, with altered tastes, it is entirely acceptable

Appreciating *Façade* is a visual as well as a literary experience Pamela Hunter's recent recitation of the poems during the 'Summerscope' season at the South Bank Centre, London, with William Walton's music and scenic effects by members of the London Sinfonietta orchestra, provided an additional dimension These performances, together with the publication of the book, are very timely opportunities for a new generation to appreciate the work of Edith Sitwell

ROSALIND WADE

AN ANTHOLOGY OF WELSH LITERATURE

A Book of Wales Selected by Meic Stephens Dent £12 95

Coming straight from South Africa to Wales in 1966, weary of the excesses of Afrikaner nationalism, I was startled to find so many of the same traits in the Welsh-speaking Welshmen all around me — the bitter nationalism based mainly on a fear of cultural annihilation, the anti-English feeling, the humourless nonconformist inhibition, the provincial insistence on a rather drab folk lore, the sentimentality which smothered every sentiment Wales, I gradually discovered, was a land rich in literary resonances, with little to show the non-Welsh speaker except a comparatively recent tradition of writing in rotund, resounding phrases derived from the Bible via the preachers in the chapels I was continually assured that there were vast treasure houses full of fine writing in the Welsh language — and that this tradition lived on, but meeting some of the bards who were celebrated locally and nationally did not convince me that I was missing a great deal, through not being able to comprehend their verses

These thoughts returned to me continually as I read this anthology Leafing through the index was depressing in itself Of more than 120 names, only a handful have had any celebrity outside Wales Dannie Abse, George Borrow, W H Davies, George Herbert, Richard Hughes, David Jones, Alun Lewis, Richard Llewellyn, Jan Morris, Howard Spring, Dylan Thomas, R. S Thomas, Henry Vaughan, Vernon Watkins To this list one might add Idris Davies, Goronwy Rees, Gwyn Thomas and the hymn-writer William Williams (Pantycelyn), but then one would have to subtract the very English Borrow, the virtually English Jan (formerly James) Morris and the English (in all but birth) Herbert and Vaughan — the works of theirs which editor Meic Stephens hijacks add nothing to our knowledge of Wales.

A strong nationalist vein runs through Mr Stephens' selection, understandably but not always to its advantage — one or two of the more recent poems are embarrassingly humdrum He makes a brave effort to represent the great names of classical Welsh poetry, and the translations are often striking, notably those made by Joseph P Clancy (now there's a good old Celtic name, straying in from an altogether stronger, healthier tradition) Sadly Mr Clancy's own poem, which is included, is not up to the standard of his translations I especially enjoyed the three poems by Dafydd ap Gwilym (1320-1370), in translations by Clancy, Rolfe Humphries and Glyn Jones Here surely was a major talent of British literature, yet I could find no mention of him in any of my reference books On the evidence of these three, he wrote poems of freshness and candour, almost modern in their stance, and I am eager to know more of his work The book also contains several fine old poems which are anonymous, notably Lament in Old Age, translated by Clancy

There seems to be a deep fissure between this tradition and what we normally think of as Welsh literature — the childhood memories of life in mining villages which are the stuff of so many pieces here Archetype of them all, of course, is How Green Was My Valley — and we are duly served a rich slice of Llewellyn's masterpiece, as affecting as ever, though not free of the besetting Welsh sin of sentimentality It is salutary to realise that Dylan Thomas, once you remove the exuberant overlay of wordplay, is working much the same seam as Llewellyn But the depression which settled over me as I progressed through this pleasingly produced book, came from another realisation I had learnt virtually nothing from it The few pieces I would want to read again — apart from Dafydd ap Gwilym — were already on my bookshelves, and Wales seemed to hold no surprises, no major contemporary talents, unless they were unknown to Meic Stephens when he made his choice In a country where the Arts Council (for whom Mr Stephens has been Literature Director since 1967) takes its responsibilities very seriously, that is sad indeed

TULLY POTTER

A ONE VOLUME BIOGRAPHY OF HENRY JAMES

Henry James A Life Leon Edel Collins £25 00

Leon Edel's biography of Henry James has long been acclaimed as a masterpiece Many consider it to be the greatest literary biography of our time and it is indeed difficult to think of any that surpasses it

However, the bibliographical history of this biography is confusing Leon Edel's original biography consisted of five volumes which were published between 1953 and 1972 In 1977 Penguin published a condensed version in two huge volumes (This edition was only available in Britain) The present Collins edition is a further condensation of the Penguin edition To confuse matters still further, both the Penguin and the Collins editions contain new material not in the original five volumes This Collins edition should become, for all practical purposes, the standard life of Henry James The specialist may well wish to consult the larger editions but the 717 pages here should satisfy almost all readers

The greatest number of changes is evident in the first half of James's life Professor Edel says that with 'the more unbuttoned ways of our age', he is able to 'discard certain former reticences' He makes no attempt to invent a lurid sexual life for James but he feels freer to engage in 'speculation — the stock-in-trade of all biographers'

This edition contains the clearest and most concise account of 'the obscure hurt' that happened to the young James at the outbreak of the War Between the States Professor Edel shows that the gossip that James had an accident which led to impotence sprang from perfervid speculation by Ernest Hemingway Professor Edel believes that Henry James' 'hurt' was severe back pains which troubled him all his life James, in common with many Northern intellectuals like Henry Adams, found it more convenient to cheer on the Union cause from a safe distance

Among the most interesting things in this splendid biography is the story of James' relationship with his family His father was a well known, if slightly ridiculous, religious writer He used his considerable private wealth to drag his five children about Europe, giving the young Henry a fascination for travel that he never lost Henry James' elder brother, William, became a highly influential philosopher and the history of the devoted yet stormy relationship between the two brothers forms a major theme in this biography

Another delight in this book is that it introduces one to many fascinating characters whom Henry James encountered Professor Edel has a deft hand for giving us quick sketches of these figures, both famous and forgotten Almost always these summaries are fair He does, however, slight Hugh Walpole's talent as a novelist.

Professor Edel, of course, has no doubt of Henry James' greatness as a novelist He calls him 'a Shakespeare of the novel' Even those who may regard this as going just a bit too far will rejoice that this excellent biography is now available in one volume, about the size of one of James' own novels, but mercifully without such long sentences as Henry James deployed

JAMES MUNSON

ELLEN TERRY'S METAMORPHOSES

Ellen Terry Player in Her Time Nina Auerbach J M Dent & Son £17 50

Miss Auerbach has provided hours of fascinating reading for the playgoer and the scholar Here is a feast — a Gargantuan feast — for every enthusiastic theatre-goer and for every ambitious actress in a predominantly man's world

The author selects Ellen Terry's Jubilee, at Drury Lane on the 12th of June 1906, as the starting point of her biography as that event contained many of the contrasting elements in the life of this enthralling woman The motto which Ellen composed for the Jubilee programme expressed her creed a Shakespeare quotation appeared at the head, 'And one man in his time plays many parts', and below it in brackets '(and so does a woman!)' The extravagant gesture of appreciation made to her at Drury Lane was a fitting climax to the Victorian phase of her career but it was far from the happy ending that might have been expected Ellen once again gave her much-loved performance as Beatrice in the first Act of *Much Ado About Nothing*, supported by Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree as Benedick and three generations of the Terry family in minor roles Gordon Craig designed the scenery but neither he nor her daughter Edith was present on this memorable occasion

My own interest in the theatre began at an early age when my mother was making the costumes for Beerbohm Tree's production of *Much Ado About Nothing*, and because Byam Shaw's designs for the wedding scene held pride of place over the piano in our sitting room throughout my childhood

This book is the result of industrious and imaginative research and is

obviously a labour of love There is more here than the usual account of the Terry charm and talent or the exploration of Ellen's life off-stage although it includes all these things It explores the myriad perspectives of this fascinating actress from stage child to bewildered and unhappy old woman her marriages, her love in the country at Harpenden, her successful career with Henry Irving at the Lyceum

Miss Auerbach has uncovered much new information about Ellen's motherhood and her involvement in the lives of her illegitimate children There is enough material here for another book the author admits that the actress's letters reveal so much that no biographer has yet done justice to However, this particular biographer furnishes the reader with infinite pleasure and many discoveries, not least with entertaining suppositions about the complex relationships between Ellen and her children, the Terry family and her friends

It is impossible to answer the question, 'What makes a great actress?' Ellen wrote, 'Myself? Why, even I, I often think, know little of myself ' But there is little doubt that she owed much of her appeal to artists and photographers such as her first husband, George Frederic Watts, Lewis Carroll (C L Dodgson) and Julia Cameron who provide splendid illustrations to the book W Graham Robertson said of Ellen, 'She was *par excellence* The Painter's Actress and appealed to the eye before the ear, her gesture and pose were eloquence itself ' Some of Miss Auerbach's interpretations of the illustrations are decidedly fanciful but no less engaging for that

There are interesting and helpful notes and an excellent bibliography and, although I found the typography of chapter headings and the sub-titles attached to paragraphs irritating, this must surely be the definitive biography of Ellen Terry and an important contribution to the history of the theatre Every library should possess a copy

NONIE BEERBOHM

SMOLLETT AND HIS CRITICS

Tobias Smollett The Critical Heritage Edited by Lionel Kelly Routledge & Kegan Paul £27 95

The modern novel of realism traces back to the teeming, jauncing pages of Richardson, Fielding, Smollett and Sterne So, the exhaustively delineated streets of John Updike's small town Brewer have their blueprint in Smollett's Bath and Edinburgh *Roderick Random* provides a port-hole on the eighteenth-century world The gallimaufry of Smollett's characters and eccentrics peopled the mind of the young Dickens he says so, in terms, but later, however, he considered that the way of Smollett was 'a way without tenderness'. Smollett's contemporaries (and nineteenth-century commentators) cherished an overvalued idea that he was tainted both in person and production by 'coarseness', but, as Mr Lionel Kelly remarks, eighteenth-century criticism of the novel 'is rarely an exercise of profound judgment' often amounting to 'little more than generalized comments in terms of approbation for his understanding of life and manners, and his capacity for satirizing human weakness and folly in a vein of humour seen at once as abrasively vigorous and humanly just.'

Even so, there is much variety and insight in these skilfully located and selected critical writings (both private and public) by Smollett's contemporaries and near-contemporaries, the volume is an excellent contribution to eighteenth-century studies, in its own right In his editorial preamble, Mr. Kelly establishes important points, as, for example, that the practice of reviewing contemporary

literature was not initiated until May, 1749, when Ralph Griffiths launched *The Monthly Review* Thus, Richardson's presignificative *Pamela* (1740) and Smollett's first novel, *Roderick Random* (1748) predated formal criticism Mr Kelly notes that much contemporary commentary focused on Smollett's activities as poet, dramatist, critic and historian, and, while including representative discussion of those aspects, he has concentrated on critical response to the novels, with an effective 'cut-off date' of 1821, which marks Sir Walter Scott's major appreciation

In the novels, Smollett played freely upon the repertoire of forms available to him — picaresque, Gothic, Quixotic and epistolary He translated Le Sage and Cervantes His own novels are surprisingly, and teasingly, autobiographical Their picaresque form must be rambling, with forced coincidences In the last novel, *Humphry Clinker* (1771) Smollett triumphantly used the epistolary device to construct an event seen from different viewpoints — the multi-faceted whole Charles Lamb admired his 'beautiful bare narrative' and one acknowledges what he means, although some of his descriptive prose could be almost as rich as Dickens' Hazlitt said that we take up the novels 'with pleasure, and lay them down without any strong feeling of regret' and Laodicean as this comment may seem, it may well be just enough The lack of heart which Dickens divined (although there are some passages of pathos) translated into twentieth-century lack of sincerity or commitment must ultimately distance the reader.

MOLLY TIBBS

SHORTER REVIEWS

Marianne George Sands (translated and edited by Sian Miles) Methuen £9.95 hardback, paperback £3 95.

The primary objective of this slim volume is to introduce readers to one of George Sands' most interesting and compelling novels, *Marianne* The problems it discusses relate to the first half of the nineteenth century, of George Sands own deeply held belief in the equality of men and women It is perhaps for the 78 page summary of the life of this remarkable woman that the new publication will be most welcome. Taken with details of a tragic yet ambitious life-style enhanced by numerous letters and quotations from famous people in politics and literature Aurore Dupin de Franceuil commanded attention on both sides of the English channel *Marianne* is an excellent example of her work, written only a year before she died, shows no sign of a flagging intellect and is an excellent companion piece to the Preface

The Account of Martin Bron Freny Olbrich Sidgwick and Jackson £10.95

At a time when the events surrounding the 'holocaust' inevitably remain in the public mind, *The Account of Martin Bron* is a timely reminder of an aspect not always remembered — the plight of Sudentenland Germans prior to Hitler's rise to power and during a period when they retained German nationality although under Czechoslavakian rule One man, Martin Bron, a Jew turned Catholic, is the mouthpiece for a long chronicle of self-revelation which leaves the reader in no doubt about the cruelty of the Potsdam 'carve-up ' Though somewhat slow moving and self indulgent, *The Account of Martin Bron* retains the interest throughout

George Eliot (Virago Pioneers £4 95) In a new study of George Eliot's life and her novels, Jennifer Uglow relates her assessments quite closely to the famous nineteenth century writer's view of women's role in Victorian society This, she indicates, presents some difficulties since George Eliot's unconventional life with a common-law husband (George Henry Lewes, philosopher and critic,) might misleadingly suggest a more modern view of women's freedom than is evident in any of Eliot's writing The novelist's preoccupation was, indeed, of a different order — that of what it meant to be a woman of artistic imagination and literary genius in a predominantly man's world — and this book is illuminating on the subject of her attempts to come to terms with the inner tensions and outer conflicts which inevitably attend on that situation A sensitive and workmanlike account, the volume contains some especially valuable insights, not least in a chapter entitled '"George Eliot" and the Women Question in the 1850s' There are also some revealing new critical slants on the novels themselves (B A)

Acting as Friends (Constable £10 95) Michael De-la-Noy has undertaken, as an independent study, 'the story of the Samaritans' It is a very remarkable account of a nationwide organisation dating to a humble beginning in the City of London by the Reverend Chad Varah in 1953 Its primary aim is to befriend those passing through a personal crisis and in imminent danger of suicide There are now 182 branches in the British Isles with thousands of Samaritans dealing with two million telephone calls and visits during each year As the author points out the friendship often goes beyond the telephone to personal visiting and direct friendship, usually not beyond three months The Samaritans are providing a very remarkable rescue service which makes an impact on the suicide rate He makes a particular point in explaining the selection of Samaritans and their training for their voluntary work, carried on at all times of the day and night

The Complete Works of Saki (Bodley Head £16 00) Hector Hugo Munro (1870-1916), better known as Saki, is best known for his superb short stories and continues to be widely read This edition of his works, including his three novels and three plays, was first published in 1980 and is now re-issued, and in hardback He remains the outstanding short story teller, combining grace and humour, with a great facility for outrage and fantasy and bringing it all down to earth

John Hillaby's London (Constable £12 95) This is no mere guide by John Hillaby, well known travel writer and walker Having loved and lived in London for many years, he now takes the reader on walks covering most of the metropolis and its suburbs He comments, with expertise, on life and living in and about London, on its history, buildings and architecture, flora and fauna and the river and waterways It is a book well worth reading, although the reader may become at times somewhat exasperated at omissions, particular views, for example on the river facade of Somerset House, and failure quickly to find any particular place discussed There is no index, which is a great shortcoming A bibliography is also omitted

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EUROPEAN RESEARCH: LAST CHANCE OR LOST CHANCE?

by Gordon Adam, MEP

IMMEDIATELY after direct elections in 1979 the work of the Energy & Research Committee of the European Parliament was dominated by the rapidly rising oil prices Meeting after meeting heard of the escalating cost of oil imports and of the urgent need for the European Community to reduce its dependence on oil There evolved from that oil crisis a statement of intent *Energy Objectives 1990.* This set down the energy strategy that the Member States would follow in order to achieve certain targets by that date, reduced dependence on oil being chief amongst them The debates and discussions attending the formation of the Objectives were intense, keenly attended and clearly of political importance The oil crisis was obvious and raised the political temperature When the Energy Objectives were revised five years later, oil prices had begun to drop The political interest waned, even though the Objectives retained their longer term importance.

Looking back over these years experience in the energy sector indicates that the European Parliament and the Community have difficulty in being politically effective, except in obvious crises The longer term considerations which surely ought to be the hallmark of Community thought and action are regrettably weak Nowhere has this been more exposed than in the Community response to scientific and research needs.

As the work of the Energy & Research Committee developed it became obvious that more attention should be devoted to research policies The competitiveness of the Community was being endangered by the industrial and technological challenge from the United States and Japan These countries were spending a greater proportion of gross domestic product on research than the Member States of the Community. Community research expenditure at that time accounted for only about

The Editor and Directors are sorry for the delay in distribution of the non-American copies of the October number (Vol. 251, No. 1461) of the *Contemporary Review.* It was caused by factors beyond their control.

1 5% of all public research expenditure in the EC and took up only 1.8% of the Community budget

The whole question of Community research was subjected to detailed consideration and a report was drawn up by my colleague, Dr Rolf Linkohr After debate in the European Parliament a resolution was carried on 18th November 1982 which called for a fundamental re-allocation of national and European programmes in order to make better use of scarce resources The resolution also called for a multi-annual research programme, which has since become known as the 'Framework Programme'. In the light of subsequent developments it is interesting to note that the resolution also called for amendments to the Treaty, so that research policy should be expressly part of Community activity instead of operating on the general 'catch all' provisions of Article 235.

With the signing of the Single Act 1986, which revised the European Economic Community Treaty (Treaty of Rome), research was incorporated in the Treaty Articles 130 (F-Q). Article 130 (F) Section 1 of the Single European Act states 'The Community's aim shall be to strengthen the scientific and technological base of European industry and to encourage it to become more competitive at international level'. The Community's actions are complementary to the activities carried out in the Member States and include

a) The implementation of research and demonstration programmes by promoting co-operation with companies, research centres and universities,
b) Co-operation with Third countries and international organisations;
c) Dissemination and optimisation of results,
d) Stimulation of the training and mobility of researchers in the Community.

The Single European Act provides that the multi-annual Framework Programme, which sets out the scientific and technical objectives, their respective priorities and the overall financial resources considered necessary, be adopted unanimously by the Council There is provision for modification as the situation changes The specific programmes or research action programmes, which set out the detailed proposals for each sector, are subject to approval by the Council, acting by qualified majority

Discussion on the competitiveness of Community industry has concentrated on high technology products. Whereas 20 years ago the trade between the USA, Japan and the Community was almost balanced, the EC now has large deficits with both countries and the United States has a very large deficit with Japan At the time of the formulation of the ESPRIT Programme it was frequently pointed out that of every 10 personal computers sold in Europe eight were manufactured in the USA; of every 10 videos nine were made in Japan

There is, however, no generally accepted indicator of international competitiveness Some studies attempt to identify a product that could be regarded as of particular importance and work out from the develop-

ment of its world market share its strong and weak points in a country's competitiveness Despite the frequent use of the term 'high technology products' in discussion there is no agreed definition.

There have not been any agreed objectives set for the Community Framework Programme, either in terms of market share or balance of payments Though it is recognised that some time must elapse before improvements could be expected, no time scale has been set. A figure of 6% of the budgetary total allocated to research has been set since the Milan Summit (1985) The basis of this calculation is not clear, nor are the expected results In any case there is no immediate prospect of the 6% figure being reached, even by 1991, the end of the second Framework Programme! Another feature which is often remarked is the job implication For instance, it is claimed that world sales of electronics will account for $1,000 million by 2000 A D. At that time Europe's deficit will be in the order of $46 billion, with the industries employing 200,000 fewer people By that date Japan and the United States will have created in this industry alone over two million jobs between them. Again, no objectives have been set for the implementation of the Framework Programme in terms of job creation

The loss of substantial shares in the world market in high technology products and the path of the past 20 years indicates a basic weakness in the competitiveness of European industry There is not, however, a statistical reference against which progress of European research and development can be measured There is a lack of precision as to the overall objectives of the Framework Programme This can only be the potential cause of difficulty as each section of the Programme is considered.

The Research, Technology and Demonstration Programme contains two elements of vital concern to the Community countries. First, it provides the strategy for improving Europe's international competitiveness and, second, it establishes the technical standards necessary to allow the free flow of high technology goods and services within a real internal market The broad objectives of the Programme are to establish a common scientific and technological policy in areas of importance for the development of Community sectoral policies, e g. energy, raw materials, and the environment Firstly, by co-ordinating national policies, and secondly, by defining and implementing projects of interest to the Community. The Community research and development policy must show an advantage for the Community as opposed to a national approach, and that expenditure is not just a levy on Member States but a means of achieving a jointly defined objective more effectively.

There are three distinct categories of project

a) Direct action — carried out by the Joint Research Centre at its four establishments at Ispra in Italy, Geel in Belgium, Petten in the Netherlands, and Karlsruhe in the Federal Republic,

b) Indirect action — carried out by groups of research workers, laboratories and universities, and partly financed by the Community;

c) Concerted action — which is similar to indirect action but the Community only finances the co-ordination of the work

It is generally accepted that the economy of the United States is driven by the defence programme, of which SDI or 'Star Wars' is the most recent manifestation. In Japan, on the other hand, MITI (The Ministry of Information, Trade and Industry) is the motive force This powerful department of government seeks to integrate industrial activity from the exploitation of research and development to the market place.

By contrast the economy of the European Community is fragmented Many large European companies in the high technology sector have wide product ranges This was a natural consequence of the segregation of their national markets. The problem still exists and for that reason the Single Act places greater stress on the creation of the internal market. Because of its total size the Community is not weak, but because of its fragmentation Europe is falling further behind in the race Some commentators relate this to the first oil crisis in 1973 This also coincided with the first enlargement and may be the explanation lies in the more complicated decision making process that has evolved since that time

It is my view that the Framework Programme has to become the motor which drives the European economy. It has to be the counter to the US defence programme and SDI, and the activities of the Japanese MITI. The second Community Framework Programme of technological research and development 1987-1991 has been the subject of intense discussion between the Commission and the Research Council since the Spring of 1986 when the guidelines proposed by the Commission were first discussed These guidelines emphasise the importance of promoting industrial competitiveness, and encouraging small and medium sized enterprises In its original proposal the Commission identified seven priority areas for Community research:

— management of resources,
— management of energy,
— competitiveness of industry and services (information technology and telecommunications),
— quality of life (health, cancer, AIDS, safety and the environment);
— science and technology for (Third World) development,
— Europe's scientific and technological potential,
— general support for scientific and technical development (innovation, scientific data bases and linguistic problems)

The Commission stressed that preference had to be given to some of these areas, such as ESPRIT, BRITE, RACE and biotechnology, and the growing importance of the programme on advanced materials By comparison with the first Framework Programme 1984-1987, this broadly represented a doubling of effort in promoting industrial competitiveness and exploiting Europe's scientific potential On the other hand, the resources allocated to agriculture and fisheries, and energy research were cut by about half

The resources requested by the Commission to implement this new

Framework Programme were estimated at nine billion ECUs, along with a reserve of 15%, making a total of 10 350 billion ECUs (£6 2 billion), this compared with £2 6 billion for the first Framework Programme 1984-87 (equivalent to £3 8 billion at November 1986 prices) The Commission argued that in the current Programme inflation compensation mechanisms, though foreseen, did not work satisfactorily Some Member States, such as Germany, France and the United Kingdom, immediately made it known that they found the financial estimates too high. The Commission pointed out that the 6% share of the Community budget, which was the goal announced and acknowledged in the European Summit in Milan, would not be reached even if the VAT contribution by Member States towards the total Community budget increased from 1 4% to 1 6%

On the question of priorities, the larger Member States agreed on the ESPRIT Programme, which was designed to absorb almost half the Community expenditure in the competivity sectors Smaller Member States, on the other hand, with other preoccupations and economic worries favoured other priorities, such as the raw materials or energy research.

Faced with the opposition in the Council, the Commission issued a revised Programme at the beginning of August 1986 The biggest change made by the Commission was in the financial resources. Because of the opposition of Germany, France and the UK the initial figure of 10 350 BECU was scaled down to 7 735 BECU This was a reduction of 25%. The Commission also acknowledged that the allocation for 1987 would be at half the annual rate and that 1.5 BECU would spill over into 1992 Taking this financial spread into account implied a reduction in financial resources of around 40% This revised financial estimate 'represented a minimum without which the Community's efforts would not get off the ground' It is around 2% of what the 12 countries are spending on research The Commission declared that research and development was as important as the structural funds· 'Both are political priorities of the same order'. In 1986 the Energy, Research & Technology Committee, in the course of a review of the Framework Programme, organised a public hearing of experts It was clear that French and German industry were very supportive of the programmes Community contributions were considered to be justified, because international research caused added expenses. The programmes which were thought to be particularly important included microelectronics and telecommunications; information technology (ESPRIT and RACE etc); energy research into fusion and reactor safety; and the programme to support research workers in Europe It was considered that more account should be taken of industry's comments when the Joint Research Programme was drawn up. Norms and standards were necessary to exploit an integrated market and the level of research and development was not sufficient in its present form to catch up with the Japanese A quantitative and qualitative improvement was required

As I see it, the Framework Programme, which concentrates on pre-

competitive research, has to seem midway between basic research, which is primarily for execution at national level, and the commercial research under the EUREKA initiative Some have been surprised by the success of EUREKA, but it reflects the value of the work that has been done in the areas leading to it If EUREKA is to maintain its momentum then clearly it is necessary for the level of basic and pre-competitive research to be at least maintained Apart from the slippage of the Programme, which occurs because of delays in official approval, there is a problem over the appointment of staff to carry out the work in the Commission The staff level is set in the official Programme and the cost is allowed for in the budget allocation. However, staff cannot be appointed unless provision is made in the staff organisation resolution, which also forms part of the budgetary procedure. It is a frequent occurrence that the level set in the Programme is not matched by that allowed for in the staff resolution The result is a further diminution of effort Sometimes, to make up the gap, consultants are appointed This increases the administrative cost and reduces the finance available for the actual research Another problem which arises is that of the length of time it takes to agree a contract, if more than one Commission Directorate is involved The contract system was orginally conceived for big operations and is now being applied to very much smaller projects Delays are harmful to the speed of execution of the Programme and the complications of the contract system also cause difficulties for smaller businesses The Parliament has frequently made comment on this issue in recent years, and the Commission is now establishing contract teams to speed up the procedure A drastic reduction in the time scale has yet to be achieved

An even more difficult problem is that of evaluation. In general terms 100% of the financial objective is achieved — the money is spent. What is much less clear is the technical achievement and the consequent improvement in industrial competitivity The whole area of assessment is a matter of major concern to the Parliament's Energy, Research and Technology Committee A small team has now been established for this work In the initial stages the aim would be to establish a network of contacts through the Community where advice can be sought in particular subject areas Another aspect of this problem lies in the peer review system, as practiced by the Commission This creates a virtually closed cycle of advice and comment within the scientific establishments. It will be a feature of the Parliament's assessment office to involve younger scientists in this project There is broad agreement that the Programme should concentrate on competitiveness and the needs of industry, but there are very different attitudes on how this can be achieved

As I understand the British Government's view, it wishes to be certain that the research will lead to products which the market needs, and that highest priority should be accorded to information technology, telecommunications, technology for manufacturing industry and advanced materials Less emphasis is placed on nuclear fission, new and renewable resources and raw materials. France does not attach very much import-

ance to environmental protection programmes, non-nuclear energy resources and the stimulation programme For the German Government, environmental protection is a key issue and telecommunications a lesser one.

The financial package for a second Framework Programme has been the subject of intense argument within the Council and between Council and Parliament for the whole of 1987. The final stage was played out in Strasbourg and Brussels during September 1987. Both the Commission and Parliament have now accepted a financial envelope below that of the Commission's revised figure £3 6 billion is the most recent figure, with £600 million of that to be rolled forward beyond 1991. There is an additional £290 million which Council will agree if there is a solution to the Community's budget crisis at the Copenhagen Summit in December. The Parliament's Budgets and Energy & Research Committees have accepted these figures I was the only member to voice any reservation at the meetings

Meanwhile, the Japanese have decided to promote a basic research programme on a world scale They have judged that the 21st century will be confronted with a number of serious problems Among these they identify rapidly increasing population, energy consumption, environmental problems and the high proportion of elderly people They forsee a depletion of natural resources and growing strains between technology and society None of this is particularly new What is new is the determination to give a lead in a worldwide research programme which they have called 'The Human Science Frontier Programme'. There have also been reports that the Soviet Union are determined to grab the lead in the industrial exploitation of space The large pay loads of the Soviet Energia rockets put the Russians years ahead. Some of the ideas may read like science fiction, but the prospect of space mirrors to light cities and solar power stations should not be quickly dismissed. They certainly contrast starkly with the British decision not to increase spending on space research at the time when the West German expenditure on R & D is double the British effort in terms of GDP

The approach of the Japanese and the Russians could hardly be more different from that of the European Community The nature of the R & D crisis in the Community cannot be expressed in one or two glib sentences, but there are some detectable strands There is first an overemphasis on what are called the 'Structural Funds', which are supposed to support infrastructure projects in the under-developed regions and those in industrial decline, to promote training for jobs and to re-structure agriculture Regrettably R & D efforts are not included in this global approach. They should play a significant part. Then, and particularly in the large countries, there is resistance to increasing financial contributions unless research and development can give a guaranteed return at the outset. There is also a reluctance to sponsor or subsidise 'market orientated research'.

But this is a shortsighted approach The application of R & D is just

as important as the work itself There is, for instance, at the present time a reluctance of industry to invest in energy efficiency schemes, low oil prices and low interest rates make for a low return on capital, but the essential point that there is a long-term advantage in reducing actual energy consumption is lost to the pocket calculator Perhaps there is a complacency bred by relative affluence This may also be a cause of the seduction by commerce of increasing numbers of British graduates at the expense of industry, the signs of a renewed 'brain drain' from Europe to the United States and the increasing difficulty of universities in recruiting science students

At the turn of the century the European Community will have only 5% of the world's population This must mean that to maintain a manufacturing output and a buoyant economy the effort must be to push back the frontiers of science. Who can say where these are? Who dare say that we have reached the end of our ability to exploit science and technology?

The European Community has yet to prove that it is capable of decision making to achieve its objectives. The saga of the battle over the second Framework Programme is not an encouraging sign.

[Gordon Adam, Member of the European Parliament for Northumbria since 1979, is Vice-Chairman Energy, Research & Technology Committee]

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION: WHAT THE FOUNDING FATHERS DID NOT FORESEE

by Esmond Wright

THE United States has now celebrated its two hundredth birthday as a politically-independent state The celebration has been marked by a year-long series of discussions and seminars, designed primarily to spread information about the Constitution in schools and colleges — though the commercial 'bally-hoo' that accompanied the parallel birthday celebrations of the Declaration of Independence eleven years ago have been less evident in 1987 Both birthday parties in 1976 and 1987 were clouded by a similar political crisis the first by Watergate and the resignation of a President, the second by Irangate and the attacks on another

Both in 1976 and 1987 the 'jubilo' and the arguments reflect a single phenomenon the growth in power of the White House — and the savage searchlights of investigative reporting that now play on the Man in it. If the most striking feature of American politics in this century has been the growth of what A J Schlesinger Jr has called 'The Imperial Presidency', the most striking feature of the last two decades has been the growth of press and media criticism of all in public life, led by the news-and-rumour hounds of *The Washington Post* The Federal capital, whose major (almost its sole) business is government, has an associated sport — gossip about those in it And both developments — the growth of the power of the man in the Oval Office, and the scale of the probing of what he and his vast bureauracracy do with it — are totally alien to the document slowly and elaborately devised in 1787, and alien to the intentions of the Founding Fathers.

The American Constitution was not, of course, designed for 240 million people of all and every race and background living on a vast continent, and with states in the Pacific and in the Arctic It was set up, a bundle of compromises, for three and a half million farming and fisher-folk, overwhelmingly British (except for a clutch of Germans in Pennsylvania, and three quarters of a million black slaves), and until then confined to a long, rocky and indented coastline When Washington took his oath of office on the balcony of Federal Hall, New York in 1789, he had more employees (most of them slaves) on his plantations than in the government Today, there are more federal employees than the total American population of two hundred years ago That the same document has proved both durable and useful is remarkable No other country has had such success with its fundamental law

The prevailing mood today in the US is to say, however 'There is nothing wrong with the document. It's that man in the White House' So with.. Carter, Nixon . LBJ . But the Presidency was not designed to be the world's policeman, merely the chief magistrate of a rather shaky federal republic He was meant to preside only; neither he nor any

of his officers were to sit in Congress Government? 'That government is best', said Thomas Jefferson, the third President, 'which governs least'. Treaties with foreign governments, the Founders declared, would require the Senate's approval, as with major Federal appointments, including justices. But the endorsement came afterwards, or after a nomination, and not as a result of preliminary consultation. Presidents' policies could, then as now, be investigated. But the man was on his own And the line drawn between executive and legislature was tightly drawn The enemy in 1787 was still the image that the Fathers had of George III, and there must be, they believed, no American equivalent. George Washington became the first President because the office had been devised with him in mind. one to whom words did not come easily, in speech or in writing, a farmer always wanting to be back on the soil at Mount Vernon, one who had been tested as Commander-in-Chief through seven long years of war — and who had said a firm 'No' when invited in 1782 to become a King. Safe, unambitious — except for what he called 'fame', and by which he meant the respect of his neighbours — and looking the part: six feet two in height, and straight as an Indian When they looked beyond him, to the future, and discussed how his successor would be chosen — in some, happily, distant future — they came up with different formulae, and voted on this issue, over their four months of deliberation, on at least eight different occasions — before, very late, hitting on the very contrived device, the Electoral College It was so artificial that it was expected that Congress would in fact choose the man from a list provided by the state Electoral Colleges It seemed unlikely that, meeting in their separate states, the Electors would hit upon a single 'national' name Political parties were not foreseen — and would have been feared. Conventions, and television, were in a remote future.

From the beginning, however, and with no guidance or precedent available, this was the man who had to interpret the document's general, even ambiguous, phrases in the light of events In 1793, after the outbreak of the French Revolutionary wars in Europe, he had to make a decision whether or not the US would honour the treaty of alliance with the France of Louis XVI — which had sent 9,000 men and a fleet to help the new republic in its war against Britain — or whether it should remain neutral. He said· 'Neutrality and Abstention' When Francisco de Miranda in 1795 appealed to him for aid to the Spanish-American colonies seeking to follow the US example, he it was who had to decide, and again he said 'No' The American Revolution, he held, was not for export. He saw himself, as have done all his successors, as the guardian of the constitution and, gradually, as the one and only man whom all Americans vote for, or against, as 'the elect' of the nation On him fell, and falls, the responsibility — and the judgement — even if zealous subordinates loyally try to take the blame Treaties, of course, require the approval of two-thirds of the Senators; but treaties are public and debatable, and they require time to negotiate And the 4,000 words of the document require — sometimes — instant-interpretation. It was the third President

who doubled the territory of the US without consulting Congress and who, ever afterwards, worried because the document did not say specifically that he could do so (Jefferson, Louisiana Purchase 1803) The sixteenth President took the country into a civil war which lasted four years and cost at least 600,000 lives without the approval of the document, or of the Congress (Lincoln 1861). The twenty-sixth President set up a new country in 1903, and built a canal across it (Theodore Roosevelt) 'and while the debate goes on, the Canal goes on also' The thirty-second President transferred 50 destroyers to Britain without consulting Congress, and at a time when the US was neutral (F D Roosevelt 1940). And, while both FDR and President Truman were careful to associate key senators with their foreign policy, in his last year in office, FDR made 70 executive agreements with foreign governments and put only one Treaty before the Senate The President is Commander-in-Chief that is something that the document *does* say. He used this power to end segregation in the South in 1957 and again in 1962 Add the Korean and Vietnam Wars, the Cuban blockade and the confrontation with USSR 1962, Vietnam, Lebanon, Grenada, Nicaragua, the Gulf all were and are Presidential acts

The Presidents, today even more than in the past, are, like Prime Ministers, first and last crisis-managers. Even public covenants, like agreements on the limitation of weapons, have to be privately arrived at — if, in today's world, such privacy is possible But it is certainly impossible to get a rapid decision, in any crisis, from 535 Commanders-in-Chiefs, (the 435 Representatives, each representing an average constituency of half-a-million people, and 100 Senators, from 50 diverse States). Not least since many now elected to the House of Representatives have got there without any previous experience of elective office, have reached their local eminence usually by raising their own funds, by hiring media consultants, and by remorseless cultivation of the media and of TV, and feel that the party is beholden to them not vice versa Certainly as individuals — and what is the collective noun for 435 individuals from totally different districts? — they do not have the elective mandate nor the political experience of a Senator or a President The buck does stop at the White House, and can stop nowhere else

What we are seeing today is the elaborate attempt in the US to manufacture an effective Opposition· built up by relentless press and media probing, backed by a tradition of outspoken comment, lax libel laws and the Freedom of Information Act giving legislative cover to the public's alleged 'right to know', and reinforced by some Democratic Congressmen The executive branch is unrepresented in Congress, so there is no regular Question Time The President can summon a press conference — but on his initiative; and Party discipline is lax on Capitol Hill

Today, as in the past, and whatever the issue, the President has to reach his foreign and domestic objectives by perennially struggling with, and carefully contriving treaties with, the members of each House of Congress, and with a legion of interest groups The legislative and foreign

TROUBLE IN FIJI

by Anirudha Gupta

WEEKS of ethnic tension and violence in Fiji have sent shockwaves throughout the South Pacific, but this is not the first time that the outcome of an election has precipitated a constitutional crisis in that country In April 1977 the ruling Alliance Party of Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara was defeated by the Indian-led National Federation Party (NFP) which bagged 26 of the 52 parliamentary seats against the Alliance's 24 The NFP was, however, unprepared to form a government on its own It therefore approached Ratu Mara to lead a coalition ministry, which the latter refused Following a leadership crisis in the NFP, the then Governor-General exercised his own discretion and reappointed Ratu Mara as Prime Minister of a minority Alliance government. This was opposed by the NFP as a racist action and it temporarily united to defeat Mara's government It paved the way for holding a second general election in that year; but the polls returned Mara's Alliance with a landslide victory: 36 again, NFP's 15, with one seat going to an Independent.

For the second time, in April this year, the Alliance was defeated by a combination of the NFP and the Fijian Labour Party (FLP) of Dr. Timoci Bavadra. Since Bavadra was an ethnic Fijian (or Melanesian) there was no hesitation on the part of NFP to form a government with Bavadra as Prime Minister. But the predominantly Indian composition of the cabinet aroused the ethnic fears of the Fijians The Alliance MPs boycotted the opening session of Parliament; they addressed protest rallies against 'Indian Domination' and once more political polarization took a dangerous turn Sizing up their chances, a handful of soldiers under Lt Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka intervened and toppled the government on May 14th Colonel Rabuka's subsequent action in constituting an interim council of ministers with Ratu Mara and his colleagues made it more than apparent that the Alliance was working behind the scene to overturn the electoral verdict. It is curious that, almost as a repeat performance of 1977, the coup achieved the end the Alliance leaders had desired viz, installation of an interim government pending another general election Given the ethnic fears of the Melanesians, which the soldiers and discontented politicians have whipped up to a feverish pitch, it is anybody's guess as to who would be the winner in the next round of race for the ballot.

However, the weeks of dramatic development since Col Rabuka's coup have brought to the fore salient features of the Fijian political scene·

a) Given the communal system of franchise in which Fijians and Indians have 22 seats each, with 8 seats to be contested by both on communal and national basis, the Constitution acknowledges and enshrines in law that race is the critical factor in Fijian politics;
b) The paramountcy of Melanesian interest is reinforced by the right of the Council of Chiefs to nominate 8 out of 22 Senators who can use

a veto on any matter affecting Fijian land, customs, or customary rights;

c) Irrespective of electoral competition, the Fijian Constitution underwrites authority on the Chiefs as custodians of a hierarchically structured society;

d) In league with the chiefs, the Alliance had forged over the 17 long years of its rule close connections with powerful external groups Also, formation of the South Pacific forum and the Alliance's openly pro-Western stance have helped Australian big business to gain a neo-colonialist hold on the Fijian economy. Late in 1980, the Americans also became active with the appointment for the first time of commercial and political attaches at US Embassy in Suba

Yet, it is interesting to note that notwithstanding their dismay over the anti-nuclear pronouncement of Dr Timoci Bavadra, neither the US nor Australia officially welcomed Colonel Rabuka's coup. This is somewhat puzzling On his part, Colonel Rabuka might have expected that his pro-western commitments would win him recognition and support from the Western Governments But this did not happen Why?

The answer should be sought not in the domestic but external environment of Fiji As two important regional powers, neither Australia nor New Zealand would welcome a sudden rupture of the status quo in their relations with the Pacific Island countries (PICs) Australia, in particular, is most sensitive about its financial and security commitments in Fiji. Hence, its first official reaction to the coup was hostile, even to the extent of seeing in it 'an intrusion of Libyan destabilizing activities'.

New Zealand, on the other hand, was more supportive of the Bavadra government's anti-nuclear and non-aligned posture Its Prime Minister, David Lange, therefore did not rule out a regional response to any call for help from the country's legitimate leaders, but, notwithstanding their different readings of the situation, the USA, Australia and New Zealand preferred to stay out of Fiji Perhaps all expected the coup to fizzle out, or knew that a constitutional formula would soon be hammered out by the Chiefs and Colonel Rabuka to bring Ratu Mara's Alliance back to power. In particular, however, none wanted to step on the toe of another as far as their common interests in the area were concerned

Fiji is not the Philippines, where the US could side with one party or another, as it obviously did to ensure Cory Acquino's victory over the pro-Marcos forces In Fiji, Australian interests clearly rule out extra-regional involvement, but it too refrained from taking overt measures in Fiji for fear of upsetting New Zealand The notion of 'strategic denial' prevents the larger powers from intervening in the internal affairs of the island countries

Thus Colonel Rabuka's action may help to bring back the old power structure in Fiji But it is not only in the political arena that ethnic cleavages have surfaced; the economic divide between the two communities has given rise to social unrest. Confronted by growing impoverishment, unemployment and frustration of the Fijian masses, the political

elite of both communities find it increasingly difficult to run the country on multi-racial lines The chief's families and the Alliance leaders have, therefore, been adopting a strident anti-Indian posture, even to the extent of calling for the expulsion of Indians from the island

On their part, the Indian community has always feared an Amin-type backlash more specifically because of its economic affluence in recent years Although the Indians are prevented by law from owning land, they own most of the retail business and dominate the professions and middle level commerce Educationally, too, they have left the Fijians far behind. The racial divide thus reflects a class division between the two communities Hence the cry 'Fiji for the Fijians' has become increasingly persistent.

Against this background of racial resentment, what options are left with the Fiji Indians? One opinion is that Indians accept the argument, now forcefully advanced by Colonel Rabuka, that affairs of government should be left in the hands of Fijians or, in other words, Indians must for all time abandon their political ambition. The reported talk of amending the constitution to reduce the Indian share of seats in Parliament from 22 to 10 may achieve this end Perhaps such a move would help restore the confidence of the uneducated, unemployed and distressed Fijians in the chiefs and politicians But this solution may not rule out further racist attacks on the Indians Already, the cry is being heard, 'This is our land. It has got to be accepted, if not bloodshed'

Another alternative for the Indians is that they reconstitute the NFP to induct larger numbers of Melanesians into its leadership This is an uphill task; but nothing short of social revolution that aims at lifting the Fijian masses from their present state of social stagnation and poverty can make the Indians secure in that beautiful island in the South Pacific — the future of which remains obscure following the indecisive pronouncements made at the recently convened Commonwealth Conference.

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ANGLO-IRISH DILEMMA

by Hugh Munro

SELLARS and Yeatman in *1066 and All That* jested that what made the Anglo-Irish question so intractable was that the Irish, whenever progress was being made, promptly changed the question It may have been mildly funny, but it was not fair, for the key to the Anglo-Irish dilemma is not any fault of the Irish, but that of the British who do not try to answer what is in fact the basic question, namely, 'What are the British doing in Northern Ireland?' The Irish, North or South, do not enjoy being embroiled in the Anglo-Irish question, yet there is little they can do Until the British come clean, Northern Unionists are stuck in a permanent identity crisis, and the South does not like the fact that a large question-mark stands over the nature and extent of the Irish state. Does London maintain a presence in Northern Ireland because the majority there is British, does it do so for reasons of power politics, or does it do so because it would like to extricate itself but has not yet found a satisfactory way of doing so? Only London can answer these questions; and until it does, Dublin cannot formulate a proper policy, cannot even define what is to be the final scope of the Irish state

Nevertheless, progress is being made The Anglo-Irish Agreement represented a giant step forward, not so much because its administrative proposals were helpful and wise but because of the inferences it allowed people to draw about Britain's longterm policies and attitudes

The most important inference was that the Northern Irish majority is not seen by London to be British, in the sense of belonging to the British domestic nation No British Prime Minister, least of all Margaret Thatcher, would declare that the people of Kent can adhere to the French nation any time they like, yet the majority community in Northern Ireland, which prides itself on the political appellation 'Unionist', is told it can join up with the Irish nation whenever it wishes to

The implication was clear enough, and it went home No effect of the Anglo-Irish Agreement has been more notable than the alienation of the Unionists from Britain Three years ago, Unionists were 'loyal' and had many defenders in Parliament Now, they have few or none — and, most notable of all, they have begun to talk of independence

The current agonising of the Unionists is an inevitable consequence of the ruthless revelations of Hillsborough For, over the years, there were important unanswered questions about Northern Irish Unionism To what extent is it a movement which represents people who identify with the Crown and wish to maintain the closest possible union with Britain? To what extent is the Unionism of Unionists merely a facade, a means of enlisting British aid in an Irish grouping's internal Irish conflicts?

These two aspects of Ulster Unionism are separable, for they have different areas of action When your Ulster Unionist is concerned with the United Kingdom as a whole, he thinks as a Unionist, for as a Unionist

he identifies with the United Kingdom as a whole. But when matters arise concerning Northern Ireland considered as a separate unit, he cannot think as a Unionist, for the aim of a Unionist, properly so called, must be to try and see that Northern Ireland does not exist as a separate unit at all That Northern Ireland is a separate unit is a defeat for Unionism; and so when the affairs of Northern Ireland arise your Unionist must fall back on the second aspect of his movement, the one which identifies with Northern Ireland seen as a separate unit — Protestantism.

The Hillsborough Agreement has gone far to reveal the relative strength of these two components of Unionism To the extent that the movement is primarily concerned about maintaining the links with Britain, it should have accepted the Agreement, seeing the Agreement's involvement of Dublin in Northern Irish affairs as a necessary price exacted by London for the maintenance of the desired links with Britain But the movement is not only Unionist, it is also an internal Irish Protestant movement, and the Agreement's concessions to Unionism's Irish enemy, the Dublin government, were a deep blow to it That the movement rejected the Agreement so vehemently is a measure of how little it is a Unionist movement, and how much it is an internal Irish Protestant movement, and, consciously or unconsciously, British opinion has taken this message on board and begun to see Ulster Unionism as having little or nothing to do with what it is to be British

But however weak the genuine Unionist feelings of Unionists, they served a vital function. They gave Unionists an acceptable national identity Protestantism may have been the essence of their local politics; but so far as the world at large was concerned they were subjects of the Crown, standing on the same basis as the English, Welsh and Scots, and carrying a blue passport to prove it.

But Hillsborough has put them in an impossible dilemma. Integration of the province with Great Britain has been ruled out, and if the Northern Irish are to have a share of political power over their own affairs it must be by way of working a devolved Northern Irish government in which there will be compulsory power-sharing with Irish Nationalists.

This undermines their whole position If an area is to generate a coherent government for itself that government must be motivated by a patriotism which identifies with the area to be governed Yet there is no patriotism, no political movement which identifies with Northern Ireland as such All there is is Ulster Unionism, which identifies with its Protestant majority It cannot, as a proper patriotism should, cherish all of the population equally It may, as it did from 1921 to 1969, provide the basis for an effective government, provided one is willing to accept that it is discriminatory (as indeed Westminster was in those years, turning a blind eye to the fact that what was operating in Stormont was 'a Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people'). But that is ruled out for the future. Current policy is that Northern Ireland must be a separate

political unit, but Protestant Unionism, which alone wants it to be a separate unit, cannot be trusted to run it.

The notion of compulsory power-sharing with Nationalists creates great difficulties for Unionists They may form the majority of the province's population, but Unionism does not see itself as a majority force, with the confidence that having a majority should give. It sees itself as waging a battle against Irish unity, and in this war the field of battle is not Northern Ireland, but Ireland as a whole, in which Unionists are a 20% minority. Northern Nationalists are seen not as a local minority, but as representatives of an all-Ireland majority, as traitors within the gates Protestant Unionism has the negative defensiveness of a beleaguered minority. Its slogans are negative — 'Ulster Says No', 'No Surrender', 'Not an Inch', 'No Pope Here' . Compromise comes hard to a negative movement Positive patriotisms can compromise, on the basis that half a loaf is better than no bread, but to a negative movement any concession is defeat

It is asking a lot, then, of Unionism that it should accept a system of devolved government for Northern Ireland in which Nationalists have an entrenched share of power Any Unionist politician who participates in such a system will be open to attack as a traitor by those who stay outside. All Unionist politicians remember that all the Unionists who participated in the 1974 power-sharing experiment were driven from the scene at the first electoral opportunity All the signs are that Unionism will not be able to deliver effective participation in a power-sharing system, and the turmoil over the issue may well destroy Unionism as an effective force.

Current British policy on Northern Ireland is then fraught with contradiction and risk It is a matter of saying in effect that Protestant Unionism is so strong and effective a force that it must be surrendered to in the matter of maintaining Northern Ireland in being as a political unit, and then going on to propound a policy (compulsory power-sharing) which is a mortal hazard to the movement to which one has just surrendered It is a question of claiming sovereignty over Northern Ireland by virtue of a majority organised by Unionism, and then pursuing a policy which has a high risk of destroying Unionism

And meanwhile, Dublin looks on. Garret FitzGerald, co-architect with John Hume of the Hillsborough Agreement, was defeated in last February's General Election and Charles Haughey has returned to office as Taoiseach Haughey has never concealed his view that FitzGerald is, on Irish nationalist issues at least, confused and muddle-headed, and would regard the Hillsborough Agreement, with its attempts to paper over irreconcilable positions by unreal formulae, as a typical FitzGerald production Unwisely, he over-vehemently denounced the Agreement when it was signed, seeing it as a betrayal of the Irish nationalist position, but over time he modified his attitude and since returning to office has continued to work it

The basic tenet of Haughey's Northern Irish policy has been a practical rather than an ideological one He sees Northern Ireland as an ultimately unworkable political unit; and the last seventeen years have provided

much evidence to back this assumption There may be a strong and defiant Unionist majority, but there never can be a coherent government system and, in the end, as Haughey would see it, that fact will come to be accepted.

One can guess that Haughey is now contemplating the Hillsborough Agreement with a degree of wry satisfaction. In the nature of things, one cannot prove a negative argument such as the argument that Northern Ireland is ultimately unworkable All one can do is watch as experiment after experiment is tried, until in the end people come to accept that they may be trying to do the impossible. No-one ever proved that alchemy was impossible; faith in it just died away The Hillsborough Agreement is not what Haughey would have proposed, but the attempt to work it is providing much of the confirmatory evidence he needs What could better help to display the ultimate unworkability of Northern Ireland than the alienation of Britain from Unionism and of Unionism from Britain that it has brought about?

As long as Unionism's job was to provide an effective, if Protestant, government for Northern Ireland and so help the province to maintain its position under the Crown, it had a clear and — to it — acceptable role But now matters are different The movement is alienated from Britain, and can no longer claim the respectability which the Crown link gave it. It has to fall back on its Protestantism; and while the Protestant flag is a satisfactory one under which to fight internal Irish battles, it is hardly acceptable as a total definition of nationality Talk of an independent Ulster is unreal. All the signs are that Unionism has nowhere to go It shrinks from involvement in power-sharing lest it destroy itself in the process; but if it refuses such involvement it may wither for lack of a practical political role It works all the time under the crippling limitation that it must represent over 50% of the province's population or cease to have useful meaning James Molyneaux of the Official Unionist Party and Ian Paisley of the Democratic Unionist Party cannot break ranks Clearly, they find this galling, and Paisley, particularly, every now and again shows signs of striking out on an independent line; but as soon as the media begin to talk of a split a compromise is patched up and the two leaders, chained to the lowest-common-denominator negative policy which unites them, soldier on It is no position from which to enter on a policy which would involve perpetual compromise with the hated nationalist enemy.

Unionism may seem strong, but it is not as strong as it seems The two main Unionist parties have the support of 55% of the electorate If for whatever reason they lose only one-tenth of their support, they fall below the 50% figure and have to embark on deals with other parties, and once they do that the monolithic defiant negativism which was the essential characteristic of the old Unionism, is gone Extreme fractional movements, given to obstruction and violence, will likely arise, and Unionists will have to decide whether to go along with them (and keep out of power-sharing) or face up to them In all this turmoil, Unionism, as a movement with an identifiable persona, will likely wither

The power-sharing policy then is a high-risk policy Yet London has felt impelled to embark upon it No doubt London feels it has to do *something* Northern Ireland's current direct rule is de facto colonial rule This is the post-colonial age For a major European power to have to acquiesce in a permanent policy of colonial rule, not in some remote Asian or African territory, but inside the European Community, would be embarrassing indeed.

Yet a continuation of direct rule may be a wiser policy than the present policy of prodding the Unionists to engage in power-sharing If one says — and all the evidence indicates it — that Unionism's condition is terminal, then the power-sharing policy is a pointless one, introduced not with real prospect that it might be a permanent policy, but to save London's face among the nations.

The Irish, it appears, see the matter differently from London The SDLP has no great enthusiasm for the policy. Unionism is thrown into turmoil by the prospect. In Dublin, Garret FitzGerald was strong for it, but he is no longer in office Charles Haughey is notably lukewarm about it.

One can see good reasons for this Irish hesitancy For if Unionism's condition is indeed terminal, then power-sharing will be a brief experiment, fraught with great risks to the Irish politicians involved Much more important to the Irish is to negotiate the decline of Unionism as peacefully as possible, for that decline is apt to be accompanied by outbreaks of Unionist violence.

The unease of Unionism is obvious enough The violent forces which lie below it show their hand all too often. A gradual decline and readjustment is surely vastly to be preferred to the kind of upheaval which enforced power-sharing would bring on. If policemen are burned out of their homes for policing Orange marches, what risks will Unionist politicians who engage in power-sharing run?

It is ironic that Haughey, for so long seen as a Nationalist fire-eater, is now clearly on the side of caution, whereas it is the British, for so long fearful of being sucked further into the Irish bog, who are the ones who want to repeat an experiment which had catastrophic effects when it was tried in 1974

On another Anglo-Irish issue, the slow fuse burns on; or rather, pair of issues; the related issues of Irish extradition law and the much-debated cases of the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four and the now-released Maguires, all tried and found guilty of IRA offences. This is no place to rehearse all the evidence which throws doubt on these convictions The facts have been amply argued in books and British television programmes. Whatever is thought in Britain, there is no doubt in the Republic that all the parties involved were innocent; and that creates great difficulties for the Dublin government when it comes to the issue of extradition

One of the last acts of the FitzGerald government was to set in train a new, easier procedure for extradition to Britain, but his proposals met with great resistance, and in the end were only passed into law on the

basis of a year's deferral. The impression was given that the prospective easier extradition terms were part of the bargaining involved in the Anglo-Irish Agreement; the hope was that during the year's delay there would be progress on the British side in the matter of reducing doubts that prisoners so extradited would get a fair trial. In particular Dublin was anxious that the single-judge, no-jury 'Diplock' courts used for IRA trials in Northern Ireland be replaced by three-judge no-jury courts such as are the practice for such trials in Dublin. (Dublin had little evidence to justify its stance here; the single-judge system has resulted in numerous acquittals, to the point where the 'supergrass' system has fallen into disuse.)

For whatever reasons, London has consistently refused to oblige Dublin on this issue. It was thought that when Lord Hailsham ceased to be Lord Chancellor, a change might be made; but the preference for the one-judge system remains

Meanwhile, December, and the automatic coming into force of the new extradition system, approaches, and Dublin has nothing to show It cannot openly say, as its followers would feel, that a British government which cannot right the (as perceived in Dublin) wrongs of Birmingham, Guildford and the Maguires should not be enabled to lay its hands on Irish citizens without even the need for detailed *prima facie* evidence; for Dublin to speak at all on the three cases would make it more awkward for London to deal with them. And there is no doubt a degree of sympathy (as between fellow-practitioners in the trade of government) for the position in which London finds itself So many great names — Lords Denning, Havers and Donaldson, Commissioner Imbert — were involved in the three trials The temptation to keep it all swept under the carpet is immense

Unless (and it seems impossible in the short time involved) the Birmingham and Guildford cases at least are satisfactorily cleared up, it is hard to see how Haughey can let the legislation proceed He must be tempted to stall — say to appoint a commission to review the whole matter of extradition, with private instructions not to report too quickly; but if he does, will the British see this as a breach of an understanding, and go cold on the Anglo-Irish Agreement?

But if — which God forbid — the trials were unjust but the British establishment cannot bring itself to face the implications of reversing the verdicts then we have a most difficult situation for Haughey. The IRA would make great gains, being able to paint the Dublin government, of whatever political colour, as temporising with a London government which could inflict such injustices on Irish people. At the time of the IRA hunger-strike, Dublin politicians saw with dismay that London's Irish policy was (naturally enough) framed to please mainland voters, even when that policy meant reinforcing IRA support in Ireland If they are forced to learn that lesson again, Anglo-Irish co-operation will be that much more difficult in the future

On the domestic as well as on the external policy front Haughey has

trouble After the country turned away from protectionism towards a free-trade policy at the end of the 50s, it had advanced rapidly until 1972; but it responded disastrously to the oil crisis and since then nothing has gone right Banking all on the prospect that an incomes policy would keep inflation at bay, the state went in for deficit financing, in hopes that economic growth would build up revenues to end the need for borrowing The incomes policy didn't work (what one did, anywhere?) but the state machine had built up an appetite for spending money it couldn't raise in taxes With bankers knocking at their doors eager to lend, the governing politicians, of whatever party, took the easy option By 1982 when the Fine Gael/Labour coalition under Garret FitzGerald took office, the problem was well recognised Government debt, 42% of it external, was 96% of GNP The current budget deficit was 7% of GNP Something had to be done, but nothing, unfortunately, was done Fine Gael, the main party in the coalition, was anxious for action but Labour, its junior partner, jibbed FitzGerald, not willing to take the risk of finding out if Labour was bluffing, climbed down, preferring to stay in office The situation dragged on for four more years while the total debt virtually doubled and the current deficit rose to 8½% of GNP

The Irish 1987 election gave an inconclusive result Charles Haughey's Fianna Fail party was favourite going into the election The party has dominated the Republic's politics since 1932, either winning enough seats to govern on its own or forming virtually the entire opposition It has never considered governing as part of a coalition In the event, it gained six seats but still had only 81 out of 166; by no means a majority, but then the opposition was very divided Before the election, Des O'Malley, a former Fianna Fail minister who had been over the years at odds with Haughey, broke away, taking three other Fianna Fail TDs with him. O'Malley was above all for fiscal rectitude, and in the event his party, the Progressive Democrats, drew most of its vote from Fine Gael voters who reacted at the way in which their party had been effectively castrated in government by the alliance with Labour The other 85 seats divided (1982 figures in brackets) — Fine Gael 51 (70), Progressive Democrats 14 (0), Labour 12 (16), others 8 (5)

Given the Progressive Democrat insistence on the need for rigorous pruning of government expenditure, an alliance involving both PDs and Labour is unthinkable; and without such an alliance, no anti-FF government is possible

Charles Haughey played his cards well He did deals with no-one, and left it to Parliament, secure in the knowledge that a vote to oppose him could not be assembled After an elaborate piece of brinkmanship, the opposition arrived at a situation where he was elected on the casting vote of the Ceann Comhairle (Speaker).

Since then he has acted tough, cutting government expenditure more than he had promised to do in his election campaign The health service, which spends a higher proportion of GNP than the British one does, has born the brunt There have been indignant protests The loyalty of FF

TDs has been strained; but Haughey has not wavered and talks of tougher cuts to come

It is a bravura performance, but it has paid off FF is holding its own in the opinion polls The feeling is that, after years of drift, someone is at last in charge. Business confidence is reviving and interest rates are falling

The statistics of the Republic's past elections show that where a minority government dissolves Parliament within a year of an election and goes for a strong mandate, it gets it On the other hand, when the government has been in office for three years or more and an election is held, the outgoing government loses on average six seats.

The temptation must be great for Haughey If he can get the opposition to vote him down in the next year or so, the odds must be that he could go to the country and get a clear majority, but it looks as if the opposition will be careful not to give him the opportunity. And even if an election were held, whether in one year or three, and Fianna Fail lost six seats or so, it is hard to see where an alternative government can come from The need for any such government to involve both PD and Labour will remain, and that seems to be impossible. If FF continued (as it would be wise to do) its policy of not seeking alliances, the only possible government would seem to be a matter of the Progressive Democrats declaring itself in general support of Fianna Fail True, these are matters of domestic Irish concern, yet in considering the future of the Hillsborough Agreement they must be taken into account In a situation which ebbs and flows and is never static for very long, the condition and fate of Charles Haughey's government is of outstanding importance

THE FORTHCOMING EDUCATION BILL

by Bruce Pattison

RADICAL changes in English education are about to be presented to Parliament The power of the Secretary of State for Education and Science is to be greatly strengthened The justification for this will be that he will be more able to ensure equal opportunities for all wherever they live

At present the main providers of education are the local authorities, but they operate under the supervision of the Secretary of State. Under the 1944 Education Act it is his duty 'to secure effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area'. This is usually interpreted as referring to types of institution, how they are carried on and what they teach being largely left to the local authorities, which in turn leave a good deal to the institutions themselves The clause quoted from the Act, however, could cover curricula. Indeed the government has always been able to make clear to recipients of public funds what is expected from them

Forty years before the 1944 Act Sir Robert Morant laid down the curriculum to be followed by the new secondary schools which local authorities were enabled to open as a result of the 1902 Education Act His regulations specified the subjects to be taught and the times to be allotted to them His aim was to make sure they were grammar schools not technical schools Once that was established nobody bothered about the source of the curriculum, and various influences modified it from time to time However, the extent of the Secretary of State's powers is now of only historical interest, for any doubts about them will almost certainly be removed by the new Bill The Minister has plainly stated his intention to get a national curriculum for schools

There is a widespread feeling that many young people leave school with serious deficiencies in what they have been able to learn Premature specialisation has long been a weakness of English education It was common in grammar schools for a choice between languages and science to be made in the middle of the course Comprehensive schools in their attempts to adapt to individual differences have introduced options from the third year onwards and allowed subjects to be dropped by those who were not very good at them In consequence important skills are sometimes neglected and pupils' programmes are sometimes restricted in the qualities they encourage It is fairly generally felt that a secondary school education should guarantee not only certain basic skills but also awareness of a broad range of modes of experience Such encouragement as public examinations gave to breadth of the curriculum disappeared when the separate subject examinations were introduced in the General Certificate of Education thirty years ago The only way of ensuring the required breadth seems to be a generally accepted curricular pattern

The question is how this is to be arrived at and how it is to be formulated. Consultative papers on this and other aspects of the government's proposals have been sent out, but they were dispatched just before teachers went on their summer vacations and responses were required by the middle of September It does not seem as though much notice is going to be taken of the reactions of local authorities and the teaching profession A curriculum is likely to be imposed rather than agreed And on the terms of the prescription there is some reason for apprehension The Secretary of State has already started to appoint working groups The first two are to be in mathematics and science It looks as though there will be prescription in terms of the traditional subjects. Inspectors' reports have carefully avoided the use of such terminology and have referred instead to areas of experience — linguistic, scientific, aesthetic, etc — recognising that interesting experiments are going on in integrating disciplines.[1] One hopes the working groups will consider the roles of the areas of experience with which they are dealing throughout the curriculum and of other areas of experience in the teaching of disciplines mainly representing their own, but groups of experts do not often work that way

The working groups are being asked to advise not only on the content to be covered in the complete courses but also on what pupils should be expected to know at specific ages It has already been decided to hold tests in basic disciplines at three points in the school career a well as an examination at the end of it. The arrangement is uncomfortably reminiscent of those for payment by results a century ago and would no doubt have similar effects, notably concentration by teachers on what would be most likely to win a battle of wits with the test constructors They would give only very rough indications of pupils' progress What to do about those who failed would be a problem Experience of previous externally designed tests does not suggest that failure would stimulate greater effort it would be more likely to cause alienation If there were any tendency to judge teachers by the results, the morale of the profession, already low, would be adversely affected

The climax of the testing programme will be the new General Certificate of Secondary Education This may be an improvement on the examination it replaces, but it is essentially of the traditional kind. Such examinations were useful guides to the curriculum and fairly adequate means of assessing response to it in the nineteenth century, but they have outlived their usefulness More detailed information than they can give is required for proper assessment, and a final examination at the end of schooling is too distant a goal to provide incentive for learning throughout the process. To secure incentives and to ensure reliable assessment a closer relation between teaching and assessment is necessary

A move in this direction might be the institution of a greatly increased number and variety of tests, so as to provide short-term goals and to allow progress to be monitored more closely Baroness Warnock has suggested graded tests on the lines of those conducted by the Associated Boards in music Any grade can be taken at any time a candidate feels

ready for it and as often as he likes As the music tests are mainly for performers, there is a great variety of them. And insofar as they are for performers they assess practical ability and not merely knowledge Despite protestations that more account will be taken of the practical it is still a very humble follower of the theoretical even in subjects that are hardly of any use to the majority except in their practical application. Mainly practical tests would attract many who would not want to take too much time away from their chief interests, and this would counter the specialisation which is the bane of English secondary education Scientists would often like to acquire a sufficient oral command of a foreign language to see them through a limited number of situations, whereas the translation exercises of the present examinations require too much time to be contemplated. The existence of tests in the spoken language would stimulate attention to it generally. The average time to prepare for a music grade is about a year, which enables the standard aimed at to be kept in sight throughout the preparation. There would be problems of organisation to allow grades to be taken at different points in a school course, but many advantages would accrue from mixing different age groups in classes working towards particular grades

Head teachers wish to move assessment and teaching even closer together. Their National Association in a report published in March recommended the replacement of an examination at the age of 16 by continuous assessment and broadly based pupil profiles This would seem to imply modular courses, each module setting a goal to be aimed at over a short period The Inner London Education Authority has already taken up the idea. During the last two years in the secondary school courses are divided into units, each requiring on average about half a term When a unit is satisfactorily completed a student is given a certificate, which goes into his Record of Achievement The Record covers his whole progress through the school and provides a complete dossier of what he can do. It would be quite possible to have external moderation to ensure comparability of standards among schools

The government has approved records of achievement and is financing nine pilot schemes under a national steering committee to develop a system for general use But they are regarded as ancillary to examinations. It is on national tests and examinations that the government relies to raise standards. There is nothing radical in its thinking about education.

What is radical is its policy on organisation of the state system But it is doubtful whether its plans are motivated by concern for education or by desire to curb the powers of local government All its proposals would extend the role of central government and reduce that of local authorities

First came an announcement that industry and commerce were to be invited to sponsor colleges of science and technology In the past guilds and City companies have endowed schools, and until quite recent years some of them received direct grants from the government This is therefore to some extent a revival of an old practice, but the government's

contribution will have to be more substantial if fees are not to be charged; the former direct grant schools had only to reserve a certain proportion of their places for children sent by the local authorities· for the rest they charged fees It is not clear how these colleges are to differ from local authority schools No doubt they will be more responsive to the demands of industry and commerce, but hardly any schools are now indifferent to what they can understand of the oracular mutterings of those who claim to represent industry

Schools under local authority control are to be given a great deal of independence Local authorities are to be required to produce schemes for devolution of responsibility to schools Schools are to be allowed to plan their own budgets and to supplement what they receive from the authority with funds raised elsewhere. Some authorities already do devolve a certain amount of responsibility to their schools, but the new proposals go much further than any present arrangements Staffing and the appointment of teachers are to be decided by school governors, the local authority being able to veto appointments only if those selected lack 'appropriate qualifications' Local authorities are to be left with little responsibility except for social services

More recently it has been suggested that where a majority of parents favour it schools might be taken out of local authority control altogether How this is to be managed is obscure According to the 1986 Education Act a controlled school which transfers to voluntary aided status may have to compensate its local authority for capital expenditure on it Presumably transfer to a revived direct grant status would involve similar compensation Even if the government evades large payments to local authorities, relationships with the directly financed schools will be costly A new bureaucracy will be required to deal with them The replanning of its service in areas where it has lost schools will also pose problems for local authorities Transfers are unlikely to be numerous, however Mobilising parents to initiate it will not be easy, and having to deal with Whitehall instead of a local bureaucracy will not be an altogether attractive prospect A stampede out of local control need not be anticipated

Local authorities are also to lose part of their role in higher and further education Polytechnics and other colleges of higher education are to be freed from their control This is a natural development from the success of these institutions in attracting students from far beyond the areas covered by single local authorities However, their independence increases the need for unified supervision of higher education as a whole Institutions of further education will have a much stronger representation on their governing bodies of industry and commerce and a much smaller representation of the local authority

What would emerge from the government's plans would be a national system of education with greater autonomy for individual institutions but more direct central control Most countries have national systems of education, and they work quite well, though they tend to be rather resistant to innovation and discouraging to initiative The birth of one

TOUCHED BY ROYALTY — THE LENS OF CECIL BEATON

by Muriel Julius

NO doubt some readers of *Contemporary Review* will consider the man of whom I write too frivolous for consideration In my opinion they are mistaken Cecil Beaton expresses for us a certain span in British life never to be recaptured At a time when personalities were untelevised his camera became our source of visual information

Recently, his long-time secretary and amenuensis, Miss Eileen Hose, bequeathed to the Victoria & Albert Museum, South Kensington, the extraordinary archive of 10,000 prints and 8,000 negatives of portraits of the British Royal Family taken between the years 1939 and 1970 Some of these are being exhibited in the Henry Cole Wing of that Museum until February, 1988 They form a remarkable record of the development of a family More than that — and this is Beaton's claim to fame — he did for them what Van Dyke did for Charles I — he glamorised them He was the right man at the right time

The Prince of Wales, King Edward VIII, was a hard act to follow The world had fallen under the spell of this handsome Prince Years after the Abdication in New Orleans when I was on the street car named 'Desire' — yes, there really is one — a lady recognising my English accent said, 'You know my husband once played polo with your Prince of Wales' — her claim to fame The new King, George VI, was shy, hesitant, hardly charismatic Not much to go on there but his wife and two daughters were another matter Cecil Beaton, if anything over-endowed with style, could give them that The image in James Gunn's painting in the National Portrait Gallery, showing the King and Queen and the two princesses at breakfast, for all the world like any landed country folk, was to change Beaton would project an image more befitting the regal role which this charming family had had thrust upon them

There is no doubt that his greatest success was with Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, one of the most beloved personalities in this and every land There can be few ladies who have retained their power over the hearts of people so long as she has done through the winning attraction of her manner.

Beaton posed her beside the towering Waterloo Urn in the garden of Buckingham Palace she wears a filmy long pale lace dress, a large shady hat and holds a parasol It was an unreal composition and it established her immediately as one apart from the every-day doings of the rest of us

His final photograph of her was the official Birthday one in 1970 Again in a garden, this time at Windsor, the figure slightly fuller but the same delightfully warm smile

Pomp and grandeur were food and drink to Beaton, so who more suitable to record the Coronation in 1953? One of the most remarkable photographs is of the Queen in full regalia She sits on a gilded chair

inside the soaring splendour of the beflagged Westminster Abbey and she is smiling the radiant smile of a supremely happy young woman. Coronations can be enjoyed, it seems to say, as well as being the dignified affairs invariably portrayed in paintings of this event

Among the Coronation photographs are two astonishing images of HRH Princess Marie-Louise looking, in her grand tiara, pearls and furs, for all the world like the *Almanac de Gotha* incarnate or, dare I say, like Alec Guinness in drag in the film *Kind Hearts & Coronets*

It would seem that the family with whom Cecil Beaton felt most at ease was that of the then Duke and Duchess of Kent. Princess Marina, graceful and slender, was an ideal sitter as was her daughter, Princess Alexandra Along one wall in this exhibition we can see her grow up First as a small girl having tea with her nanny and one of her brothers, then, in 1941, in her toy pony-cart in the garden until, by 1960, she is a glamorous beauty Again in 1974 she is the subject of the best colour photograph in this exhibition, an exquisite young woman in a yellow ball gown and magnificent diamonds

Although Beaton's images are gelatin silver prints, they lack the technical sophistication of his contemporaries, Edward Weston, Steichen or Dorothea Lange in America or Man Ray in France All too often Beaton's portraits and fashion photographs are overburdened with flummery and accessories 'Less is more' was not part of his vocabulary

Beaton, however, was far more various than his contemporaries, not only photographer but theatrical designer, author, journalist and painter Hugo Vickers' biography lists no fewer than 51 plays and films for which he designed costumes or sets, and over forty publications including six volumes of *Cecil Beaton's Diaries,* the last of which was published in 1979, the year before he died

What of Beaton himself? He was one of those people fortunate enough to be born into an era which suited him perfectly Educated at Harrow and Cambridge he epitomized the carefree period of the late twenties and thirties His father — 'something in the City' — seems to have accepted the fact that his son had more artistic than fiscal flair The family also provided two very photogenic daughters

Although Cecil Beaton first attracted attention as a photographer he sketched and painted and wrote with remarkable facility No less a person than the historian Arthur Bryant, reviewing his book *Ashcombe* in the *Sunday Times* in 1949, wrote 'Mr Beaton is not only an artist· he can write His account of his war-time visit to China was one of the best books of the war'

The story of Ashcombe reveals the Beaton personality in full flower Granted the lease of a derelict Georgian pile in the Wiltshire Downs at a paltry rent of fifty pounds a year, he set about with the active collaboration of friends to restore and beautify the place. For fifteen years it was a passionate project. And what talented friends and neighbours he had· Siegfried Sassoon, H G. Wells, John Betjeman, Lord David Cecil, and artists Frank Dobson, the sculptor, Lord Berners, Salvador Dali, Augustus

John, Oliver Messel and above all Rex Whistler

Describing a visit to the household of Augustus John, Cecil Beaton wrote

> To visit the Johns was always a stimulating experience In a rambling and ramshackle disorder, with his Rubens-like wife, Dorelia, their large family and a grand heterogeneous mixture of strange characters, the Master had developed to a Johnsonian point the art of living Everything was done with natural ease and felicity Somehow Augustus managed not only to make every man and woman in his domain conform to the John type and to look like his paintings, but he suffused every object in his house with his personality Each box of matches, blue glass bottle or begonia on the window-sill looked like a 'still life' by the virtuoso From the moment of arrival one came into a wonderful new world

Beaton also created small new worlds in Ashcombe He chose the circus as the motif for his bedroom and each of his friends set to to paint a wall panel Rex Whistler painted the 'fat woman', Lord Berners a Columbine, Christopher Sykes a Tumbler and Oliver Messel a small negro wearing nothing except a pink ostrich feather on his head It was all exuberantly camp.

Inevitably, Beaton's great theatrical flair was recognised In 1945, while clothes coupons and food rationing were still the order of the day Binkie Beaumont, the great theatrical entrepreneur, asked Cecil Beaton to design the sets and costumes for Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan* With a marvellous flaunting of wartime austerity Beaton created opulent sets and gorgeous clothes Later on his work for the film *Gigi* with Lesley Carron and above all the theatre and film productions of *My Fair Lady* were triumphs For not only did the costumes look marvellous, they were witty Today Cecil Beaton sketches for them are expensive treasures as are his photographs With the greedy, often inexcusably high prices art galleries demand for paintings, photography, first in America, and now increasingly in England has taken on something of the status, misguided in my opinion, of a major art form A photograph by Beaton of any remotely notable sitter will easily fetch a four-figure sum at auction today

A few years before he died I visited Cecil Beaton's house in Kensington The walls of the drawing-room were of black velvet and on the dark settees were cushions covered in the rich silver and gold cloths used for *kobi,* the sashes worn by very rich Japanese brides. They punctuated the settees like jewels

The book-lined study was dominated by a portrait of the young and very handsome Beaton painted by his Parisian friend, Christian Bérard In the New Year Honours of 1971/72 Cecil Beaton received a knighthood It was a fitting reward for someone who had lived richly and royally, and been touched by royalty in return

THEIR SUN WENT DOWN BEFORE THE DAY HAD ENDED: A PERSONAL MEMOIR

by Peter Macdonald

MY brother, Basil Andrew Stewart Macdonald, was born in 1920. When the Second World War came nineteen years later he was a soldier in the Territorial Army, one of the many who had volunteered after the Munich crisis By September 1939 he had started a career, but it was to be a short one, for very soon his regiment was mobilised He spent the next few dreary months in a tented camp at Sevenoaks, in a field only two minutes' walk from the house in which I was to live, by chance, many years later. It was, in a sense, the closest I ever got to him, for he went away to North Africa with the Eighth Army when I was 12 years old, and I never saw him again. Neither did the girl to whom he had become engaged to be married.

During the desert campaign his unit, a Medium Regiment of the Royal Artillery, moved back and forth across the fly-blown, arid wastes of Libya, firing their 4 5 inch guns at Italians and Germans. Came the day, the 21st June 1942, when the garrison at Tobruk was surrounded by Rommel's forces and taken prisoner. Basil was one of those captured, and was shipped to Italy. For months we heard nothing, and then came official notification that he was alive, to be followed by a sporadic succession of pre-printed letter-cards, which came in batches and gave us very little information. That didn't seem to matter much, for he was safe, or so we thought, until the end of the war

When the Italians capitulated the Germans marched the prisoners-of-war north over the Alps. My brother was first taken to central Germany and then sent east to Upper Silesia, to Stalag VIIIB, a large camp for Commonwealth and French prisoners which had its headquarters at Lamsdorf but also many distant out-stations, built by the POWs themselves, in which lived working-parties of soldiers He was a Corporal (a Bombardier, as the rank is known in the Gunners) and as such, under the rules then applied by the Germans, was not obliged to do manual work, whereas Lance-Corporals and Privates had no option However, for some reason he volunteered to join the labour gangs Perhaps it was boredom, it being preferable to shovel snow off the roads in winter or toil down the mines in summer than to do nothing; perhaps they needed supervising NCOs; or perhaps it was because those who laboured got more food than those who did not Whatever his reasons, he was put to work in a salt mine near Katowice in south-western Poland where, two years to the day after the fall of Tobruk, one of his legs was crushed in an underground accident Soon after, on the 26th of June 1944, aged 23, he died of a thrombosis.

During the many post-war years in which I served in the British Army — at one time in the self-same regiment of the Royal Artillery — I was unable to go behind the Iron Curtain, but last year I decided to make

my small pilgrimage to the place where he is buried: the Commonwealth War Graves cemetery in Cracow I went as one of a group of holiday-makers who travelled under the auspices of Polorbis, the state-owned tourist organisation, and flew from Heathrow to Warsaw. After a two-hour flight in a comfortable Ilyushin 62M wide-bodied jet of Polish airlines and a hard five-hour ride in a very unsophisticated bus we arrived in Cracow, and the next day I went to see his grave.

In my experience a Commonwealth War Graves cemetery is separate and sovereign, a walled-off 'part of a foreign field that is forever England', but that is not the case in Cracow The soldiers, airmen, sailors and civilians who lie there are in a distant part of the biggest cemetery in the city, and share it with the remains of more than a million Poles — and with several hundred Russian soldiers However, within that great burial ground our small plot looks much the same as our war cemeteries do the world over: row upon row of white stone slabs on which, usually, are carved the number, rank and name of the occupant of the grave, the date of his death and his age, his regimental badge, a religious emblem, and any special phrase asked for by the relatives, the whole place being dominated by a tall stone cross on which is an inverted steel sword I say 'usually' because sometimes nobody knows who lies there, as is the case with one of the graves in Cracow, on which is the inscription. 'Here lie five unknown soldiers of the 1939-45 war'.

The graves register had been removed, so I was unable to tell how many are buried there, but a rough count put the total at over four hundred who died between 1940 and 1945 Men of many religions lie side by side — mostly Christians, but also Jews, Moslems, Hindus and a Buddhist A gardener of the War Graves Commission, who died in 1942, lies among the graves he once tended, and there are some civilians there too, caught up in the confusion of war. There are a few sailors — captured who knows where? Fished out of the sea, perhaps, only to perish later — dozens of airmen, many of them Polish, and hundreds of soldiers. They came from the British Isles, South Africa and Australia, from Canada, India and China and even from Nepal

The prisoners must have had a bad time in 1944 for many young men died, most of them in their early twenties. Some had been taken prisoner at Dunkirk, some in Crete, others in the desert or Italy All had survived for years on poor food and become slowly debilitated to the point where they had little bodily resistance.

Generally, the Germans treated their British and Commonwealth prisoners reasonably well; even sending them to local hospitals for treatment It was not through calculated acts of ill-treatment or neglect that most of these young men died.

The cemetery in Cracow, untypically of British war cemeteries quite badly neglected, is a sad monument to apparently wasted lives. On the grave of an 18 year-old Warrant Officer of the South African Air Force is carved that famous but debatable phrase, 'One crowded hour of glorious life is worth an age without a name'. I wondered, as I stood and looked

at it, if he would have agreed, but two days later I visited Auschwitz After seeing that place I had not the slightest doubt that their lives, wasted though they were in one sense, had not been sacrificed uselessly

In the days that followed the mental image of the cemetery was overlaid by the many contrasts to be found in Poland

A few weeks after my brother died the people of Warsaw rose in revolt against their German oppressors, using weapons that had been hidden away when the Polish Army was overwhelmed by the Wehrmacht They passed arms and ammunition through the sewers into the ghetto, walled off and guarded by armed soldiers in watchtowers, and together with the Jews desperately fought the Germans It was a gallant but forlorn hope After a few weeks they were crushed and Hitler ordered that Warsaw should be razed to the ground. With flame throwers his troops set fire to the buildings and then with dynamite smashed them to rubble. When the Russians crossed the Vistula in January 1945 only about 5% of Warsaw remained standing

During the next twenty years the capital was rebuilt, the old city almost brick by brick, so that today it looks very much as it did in medieval times. In the centre of the new city stands the Palace of Culture, a massively impressive but rather ugly sky-scraper, presented by the Russians to the Poles, who give the impression of trying hard to ignore it, even though it is, perhaps intentionally, the tallest building in the nation Around it are state-owned hotels, busy streets, parks, shopping centres, avenues, all the outward signs of a great capital city, but they are a façade The shops have poor quality goods in them and not much to sell anyway; window dressing is dowdy and pathetically sparse, shop-fronts are crumbling for want of a coat of paint, pavements cracked and broken; the trams have great patches of rust on them, cars and taxis are ramshackle And many of the people have an air of frustrated, sullen resentment or hopeless resignation The few advantages of state control, such as subsidised travel — a bus ticket across Warsaw costs about three pence, a taxi for two miles about 25 pence — are clearly no compensation for the low standard of merchandise

The 'masses' live, nearly all of them, in vast apartment blocks, five or twelve storeys high, in tiny flats which are generally 50 square metres in size a living room, a bedroom, a bathroom and toilet There is a 15 to 20 year waiting list for a flat and in consequence three generations often have to share that cramped space Desperate to escape from their concrete cells there is a great demand for allotments, which are rented from the government and on which they build little shacks in which to spend summer nights, and around which they can grow flowers and vegetables But once beyond the outskirts of cities one enters what is still virtually a peasant society

On the drive south from Warsaw along a major arterial road we passed very few habitations and only a scattering of crumbling villages and a dingy town or two The countryside was featureless and depressing On the poor soil, men were haymaking with scythes while their booted and

kerchiefed womenfolk gathered the hay with long wooden rakes. Their concrete-brick houses are roofed with corrugated iron for the most part or even with tar-paper — not much protection against long winter months in sub-zero temperatures — and everywhere there was an air of dilapidation and extreme poverty.

The average farm is about 30 acres in size and 80% are still in private ownership For many years farmers were obliged to hand over nearly all their produce to the state, but some time ago the rigidity of that particular communist theory had to be relaxed Now, only a small proportion is taken from them and the rest can be sold on the free market In the countryside most vehicular transport is horse drawn The Polish population of around 35 million need more than five million horses to keep it mobile and its economy functioning Very few people outside the main cities own a motor car — and not many in the cities either

Because for some years the Poles have had around 300% inflation per annum they have scant respect for the *zloty*, their monetary unit, and in consequence are avid for hard currency — American dollars, sterling or Deutschmarks The official rate of exchange was about 195 *zloties* to the pound but in the streets members of our group were being offered as much as 750. With hard currency it is possible to obtain a car in two or three weeks Without it, the waiting list is three or four years Petrol is rationed to six gallons a month for a small car (the Polski Fiat 750, made under licence) or nine gallons for a bigger one (the 1500cc version) Only three months' worth can be saved up, though it is possible to buy petrol on the black market. However, since so few ordinary citizens can afford a car the problem is largely academic

Other day-to-day difficulties have a much greater personal impact Meat is in very short supply, rationed to around six pounds weight per person per month. The only crowded shops I saw were butchers', where women, their children clutching at their skirts, stood waiting like sheep for a slaughtered beast to be delivered and quickly dismembered. If they were lucky and tenacious enough they got a good cut; if not they got the scrag-ends or the offal Bread too is rationed, and so is flour and sugar, even though Poland is a large beet producer.

Because of an epidemic of alcoholism the government has cracked down on the consumption of beer and vodka No liquor may be served before 1pm; the supply of beer is suddenly cut off in restaurants without explanation, and the price of vodka has been made prohibitively high — the net effect of which has been to promote a thriving boot-leg industry in the countryside, where many farmers now make their own vodka despite the threatened penalties

Agriculture suffers from the fact that around 50% of Poland is covered by trees which thrive on sandy soil, and that cultivation of the remainder is done with very little modern machinery To try to counter this the government have built, near Katowice at enormous cost—which accounts in no small part for the many billions of dollars the Poles owe the West— a gigantic steel works, but it is unfinished due to lack of money and

further credit Two and a half kilometres of covered overhead conveyor belts, intended to carry Soviet iron ore to the smelting works, stand idle. In any case, with the average wage being so low people have no money with which to buy the consumer goods which might one day be made from the steel which is intended to pour out from the complex

Outside Cracow stands the new International Hotel, like the steel works a mere shell, with its ventilation equipment lying outside in decaying piles waiting for the day when money will somehow become available to pay for its installation. Meanwhile the older hotels, built to attract foreign currency from tourists are, like everything else, badly in need of renovation However, we visitors were very privileged people We ate reasonably good if repetitious food — as much meat in a week as the Poles get in a month — and we freely toured the sights We were allowed to take photographs but warned not to point our cameras at railway stations, bridges or other 'strategic' places We visited the palace of the kings in Cracow and the cathedral in which they are buried; we went south into the hills bordering Czechoslovakia, into countryside reminiscent of Bavaria, and where the standard of living is better, the people being more self-sufficient and doing quite well from local tourism. We had a folk evening in a country inn, where pretty girls in peasant costume sang, played and danced. We went down a very ancient salt mine, in which there is a huge chapel a thousand feet underground We visited the monastery to which many thousands of pilgrims constantly go to prostrate themselves in front of the famed Black Madonna, we saw the palace of the Polish kings near Warsaw and also the birth-place of Pope John Paul II, which is now a shrine in the custody of nuns

One of the most striking impressions I have of Poland is the strength of religion in the country It is not a Communist state in which there is a covert, suppressed thread of persecuted religious feeling; it is a strongly and openly Roman Catholic country on to which has been overlaid a veneer of Marxist ideology Its twelve thousand churches are a focus for the aspirations of the people, as one of them said, when there is nothing to hope for people turn to prayer For all that, the other, state-controlled, side of the coin is also apparent The rings on women's fingers were counted and logged for the record before they left the airport so that they could not buy gold and take it out of the country There were armed soldiers standing at the bottom of the gangway when we left the plane and armed militiamen guarding public buildings Quite a few people in our group received unintelligible and inexplicable phone calls in their room in the dead of night, and despite the fact that Poles are said to be pro-British, shop assistants, hotel receptionists, waitresses and taxi drivers were, for the most part, sullen and even rude, the result, perhaps, of years of anti-West indoctrination, jealousy or even a naive resentment that we have not done more to help them. On the other hand there were people, who were quite the opposite

To me, one of the most surprising things was the lack of a conventional military presence During the whole time I saw not one tank, gun or

military jet, not even a single Polish or Russian soldier They are there, of course, in considerable numbers but these days, it seems, keep a low profile

On my last night in Warsaw I went to see *Giselle* performed by the state ballet company with a Russian prima ballerina. It was an unforgettable experience. Without any doubt it is the most impressive theatre I have ever been in; a magnificent auditorium, rising tier upon tier, gleaming marble staircases, pillared walls adorned with bright modern tapestries. It is a brilliant showpiece of a place, built with no expense spared During the intervals people strolled up and down under the glittering chandeliers. The men were clearly wearing their most presentable suits and the women had done their very best to look pretty There was no display of jewellery; no furs or silks but there was style and dignity and a sense of pride in taking part in a fine cultural experience which lifted them, for a short time, above the drabness of their lives

As is usual in life, there were some lighter moments lethal-looking D-I-Y intra-uterine devices were on sale in the state-owned shops for 5 US dollars. On the morning of departure my luggage was aggressively examined by a surly and offensive official who looked, understandably perhaps, with great distaste at the portrait of Dylan Thomas which adorned a paperback I had been reading At the time I did not think it was funny! Our passports had been confiscated when we arrived and were not returned until the day before we left

I looked down on Poland as it vanished beneath low cloud, glad to have been, but relieved to get away. The complaints we voice so loudly in our own land are petty indeed in comparison with what other people have to put up with in silence.

The ballet is one of my most vivid memories Another is Auschwitz, about which there is too much to say or, perhaps, nothing more to add; but the most lasting impression is of the rows upon rows of white stones in the cemetery.

[Brigadier Peter Macdonald held command appointments at every rank, served as an expert on munitions and was a bomb disposal officer in Cyprus during the EOKA insurgency He has published five novels and three non-fiction works, the latest a concise history of the world entitled *Minutes of Time*]

LETTER FROM AUCKLAND

by Adrian Smith

ONLY when I caught myself comparing successive hosts' jacuzzis did the seductive lifestyle of Auckland's wealthiest denizens truly strike home Although New Zealand society has doggedly refused to follow the Australian example and remained unashamedly Anglophile, the beneficiaries of three years' economic upheaval display a degree of ostentation more commonly associated with LA The lifestyles of the metropolitan *nouveau riche* suggest a unique blend of Antipodean commonsense, Californian vulgarity, and Home Counties timelessness. The Auckland region contains over one third of New Zealand's approximately three million population, and the south-north drift shows no sign of abating Auckland is synonomous with prosperity. A sizeable proportion of the three hundred thousand New Zealanders who retain well over a third of their nation's wealth live in Howick, Epsom, Remuera and the other suburban enclaves of abundance New Zealand has traditionally prided itself on its egalitarianism, yet south Auckland clearly demonstrates the widening gap between the rich and the poor.

Just as the affluent have abandoned their traditional sources of income, most notably on the land, and moved north in search of fresh opportunities, so the jobless and the dispossessed have come in search of work Like English farmworkers two hundred years ago, Polynesian immigrants exchange a simple rural lifestyle for the harsh realities of city life and the work ethic of an advanced industrial society. For those who do secure jobs, mostly in fast-food outlets or assembly and processing plants, the work is mundane and repetitive With certain notable exceptions, there is a heavy staff turnover and management is unsympathetic to the islanders' initial ignorance of any inherent European work discipline Managers and foremen have a regrettable tendency to make sweeping and unsubstantiated generalisations — Cook Islanders are rarely conscious of time, Samoans make good supervisors but little else, and so on. No-one else is prepared to take on the lowest paid, least attractive jobs, and yet the islanders find themselves a focus of abuse and resentment. Even the most liberal-minded European appeared to question the quota system of entry, and to condemn the Cook Islanders' right to unrestricted movement.

In an economy where welfare benefits are consistently outpaced by an inflation rate of nearly twenty per cent, an unemployment level of six per cent is bound to place great strain on the social fabric of such a densely-populated region Many of the islanders are prepared to take whatever work becomes available, but the Maoris complain bitterly of job discrimination and limited opportunities Maori youth make up a disturbing proportion of the North Island's total jobless, and most of them live in south Auckland Training and job creation programmes are often ill-funded and poorly co-ordinated, while recreational and welfare

provisions have been stretched to the limit by islanders and provincial Maoris joining relatives already settled in Otara, Manuera and Mangere Acute deprivation — by New Zealand standards, if not necessarily by those of Britain's inner cities — inevitably fuels a ghetto mentality, which latent white racism only serves to reinforce.

A day in Mangere, home and political base of Prime Minister David Lange, exposes the myth of New Zealand as a genuine multi-racial society, however much this may have been partially true in the past Until the recent establishment of a community law centre, over forty thousand residents — predominantly Maori and Pacific islander — had access to just one attorney Only the most altruistic lawyer was prepared to turn down a far more lucrative career in Queen Street, whether he be Pakeha or Maori, and the same remains true of all the other professions Mangere is only a few miles down the Southern Motorway from the most affluent of Auckland's suburbs, but it might almost be in another country Plans are afoot for a new open-air swimming bath, yet even more advanced are proposals for an enclosed three-pool lido in Howick, where back-garden swimming is *de rigeur* When questioned, a bemused mayor fails to see the irony Yet in a land of unfettered market forces, monetarist orthodoxy and a nominally socialist government, ironies abound

While the provincial towns and the rural communities lament retrenchment and recession, Auckland glories in its seemingly relentless growth South of the city industrial estates proliferate, the demand for space satisfied by semi-retired businessmen or ex-farmers who find commercial property a lucrative yet reliable source of income On a five-year lease rent is never less than ten per cent above the inflation rate, which in New Zealand terms constitutes a lot of money Major corporations like Chase and Fletcher have experienced unprecedented growth in recent years, their executives both generating and satisfying the demands of the property market If Mangere is currently experiencing an acute shortage of accommodation, then Howick is witnessing the annual consumption of prime farm land in the interests of unrestrained suburban sprawl Their subsidies abruptly withdrawn by a Government intent on moulding a leaner, more competitive and above all wholly self-sufficient agricultural industry, farmers have sold off land to building contractors or themselves built houses on individual plots The landscape of Auckland's southern hinterland is changing, sadly for the worst, at an alarming speed Within the city itself longtime residents insist that whole areas, particularly downtown, are well-nigh unrecognisable from just five years ago

With a shameless indifference to history and the quality of architecture, Queen Street endures wholesale demolition The whole downtown area is subject to apparently perpetual redevelopment Tourist and leisure facilities now compete with major retail outlets and corporate headquarters for vacant prime sites If small by City standards, the Stock Exchange boasts the technology and the self-confidence to exploit New Zealand's convenient location near the international date line The more prescient brokers suggest that Auckland will be ideally situated to take

advantage of Hong Kong's return to China, already capital is flowing into the city from the Far East, if only to thrive on the high interest rates Exchange and interest rate controls are anathema to 'Rogernomics', the promotion of an unfettered market economy with a dash of social justice so ardently advanced since 1984 While Lange provides the charisma and political acumen, Finance Minister Roger Douglas continues to pursue an economic strategy that has fundamentally affected every aspect of New Zealand life. The Labour manifesto in 1984 was so thin that Douglas has never been weighed down by ideological baggage, not that the parliamentary leadership has ever been over-concerned with the muted complaints of a surprisingly acquiescent trade union movement, or the more vociferous dissent of constituency activists. Party members have so far been appeased by the Government's pliant adherence to its non-nuclear defence policy, and by the rare prospect of re-election Is such compliance likely throughout a second term in office?

Douglas, given every encouragement by his Treasury officials, eschewed from the outset Sir Robert Muldoon's brand of adroit but unrelieved crisis management Auckland's business community, many of who remain active at the very highest levels inside the National Party, lament the ruthless manner in which Lange and Douglas seized the economic initiative; and yet with enthusiasm muted by embarrassment they look ahead to a further three years of uncompromising structural change. Two terms of Labour rule will secure a massive shift of resources from the public to the private sector, exemplified by this year's 'corporatisation' of the state's nine trading enterprises Forestry, energy, transport and communications are now serviced by semi-independent corporations whose competitiveness and potential for full privatisation have been secured at the cost of extensive redundancies The tax burden has already shifted dramatically from direct to indirect with the introduction of an across-the-board ten per cent Goods and Services Tax (GST), for which there are *no* exceptions. GST gave another hike to the cost of living, but the revenue generated in its first year enabled Douglas to promise tax cuts, the maintenance of an admittedly streamlined welfare system, *and* a balanced budget in his forecast for the present financial year Few took the notion of a balanced budget seriously, particularly in the light of wildly optimistic growth assumptions, but Labour nevertheless enjoyed a useful pre-election morale booster in the opinion polls

The National Party proved surprisingly reluctant to focus on economic issues when attacking the Government's record. Amidst unedifying if earnest exchanges of personal abuse, spokesmen for both major parties concentrated upon key social issues, such as education, Maori rights and law and order. The Opposition sought just such a campaign, in the knowledge that 'Rogernomics' constitutes precisely the policies its present leaders would themselves wish to promote, had they the courage and the parliamentary majority to do so National's traditional support has been strengthened by the bankruptcies and redundancies that plague the small towns and rural communities, hence its efforts, largely unsuc-

cessfully, to erode Labour's power base in the major cities such as Christchurch and south Auckland A lack of credible alternative policies meant that Jim Bolger, despite enhancing his reputation as party leader, could do little other than articulate the complaints of those most adversely affected by Labour's rapid refocussing of economic priorities away from subsidised farming and protected manufacturing, and towards a burgeoning service sector centred heavily upon Auckland

Even in South Auckland volume manufacturers all too often face either extinction or a modest survival assembling knock-down products shipped in from Australia, or more likely the Far East Stripped of protection, home manufacturers are victims of major import penetration Despite Government incentives to innovate and diversify, manufacturers simply do not enjoy a sufficiently large domestic market to justify costly product development High freight charges undermine their competitiveness abroad, and so the only alternative to closure or foreign takeover is contract work for multinationals

Buoyed by Bob Hawke's victory in Australia, and with every indication that constituency changes had marginally benefited the party, Labour's main concern on polling day, 15 August, was complacency among its hard-core supporters Certain trade unionists and party workers did refrain from campaigning, or even from voting, in protest at the leadership's preference for the middle ground Yet Lange is a very different political animal from Hawke, a genuine concern to protect the universal welfare system his party pioneered in the late 1930s outweighing any unashamed appeal to the electorate's most material values The Prime Minister does not court media and property tycoons in the manner of his Australian equivalent, and neither has he felt the need to trim his non-nuclear policy in the face of considerable pressure from Washington Defence attracted surprisingly little attention during the campaign, the National Party having finally come to terms with a widespread conviction that nuclear energy, whether in military or civilian form, remains the greatest threat to New Zealand's unique and still relatively unspoilt environment This strength of feeling cuts across party, class and racial divisions, in a society so polarised over other issues, most notably the future role and status of the Maori and Polynesian island communities

Labour preserved intact its 15-seat majority, actually gaining a further seat in Auckland Yet those in the city caught in the new poverty trap who chose not to stay at home voted primarily to thwart National threats of major cuts in benefits No doubt the residents of Epsom and Remuera retained their traditional allegiance all the way to the ballot box, but for a good many of them the final result brought a quiet sigh of relief

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FIRST NIGHTS

by John Elsom

THERE is a first time for everything, but first nights are something special I have had more than my fair share of them, being a theatre critic, and recently have been taking part in a BBC Radio 3 series which actually calls itself, 'First Night'. The pattern is this You go along to the official first night of a production, leave the theatre in a rush, gathering your belongings in a plastic bag if you are wealthy enough to possess one, are bundled into a taxi (the BBC think of everything), are driven at an unnatural slow pace from Shaftesbury Avenue to Broadcasting House in Langham Place, where, if you are lucky, you get to the studio in time for a tuna fish sandwich, a brief thought-gathering session, before the green light switches on (one of four) and you speak for ten minutes on what you have just seen, in the theatre, that is

It is, in short, a paradigm for all first nights everywhere, panic, indigestion, delays, a frantic concentration on the matter in hand, a brief spell of creative energy — or not, as the case may be, a calming drink or cigarette afterwards, a slow wind-down and back to the days that are not first days and the nights that are not first nights

The series, 'First Night', are, in one sense, much more genuinely first nights than is customary nowadays in the theatre for, recognising all the accidents of nerve-wracked premieres, most impresarios nowadays prefer to start their runs a few days before the official first night, which is called now 'Press Night' instead among official circles The real first night, when everything goes wrong and the curtain collapses into the orchestra pit and the stage vicar gets locked in his dressing room playing pontoon with the stage choirboy, is the first preview, at reduced prices — although in my view, there is often more fun from seeing productions go wrong than when they go right, in which case they should charge more for the first preview, on the understanding that while disasters cannot be actually guaranteed (no money back if the show goes ahead without a hitch), there is more likelihood of disaster and, in any case, waiting for disasters to happen brings its own form of dramatic suspense

It has thus occurred to me, locked in a traffic jam near Liberty's, from the false first night of Peter Shaffer's *Lettice and Lovage* to the real 'First Night' in Broadcasting House (if I could get there on time), that the only people who experience all the adrenalin-packed emotion of a genuine first night are theatre critics, we throw-backs to the days of the *belle-lettres* tradition, we few, we happy and often gin-sodden few, we band of sibling rivals, and that it is not unusual for those of us who exist to maintain the standards of the golden world that we end up by enjoying all the heartache which we have inflicted on others in times gone by.

Take, for example, our colleagues, the priests and the other kind of first nights which spring to mind Couples nowadays, venturing on matrimony and hoping for long runs, naturally follow the example of the

theatre impresarios and try out their productions in regional hotels, in order to iron out the snags of short acquaintance And then perhaps they look for small flats in town, for previews, before launching themselves in public. It is the normal course of events But priests, like critics, must pretend otherwise, as must the cheering families and friends of the happy couples, so that even while the newly-weds are climbing into their taxis, prostrate with excitement at the thought of yet another weekend in Ibiza, yawning with joy and trying not to fall asleep, everyone else must work on the assumption that this really is the wonderful beginning to a wonderfully big adventure. Ardent mothers and fathers dotingly pretend that this really is the happiest day in their daughter's life, while the bride checks on her Psion Organiser as to whether the return flight will land in time for her to make her appointment in the City

Ours is not a ceremonious age Not for us, the entrance to fanfares and the exit to the slow beat of drums, which is why it is so noble of the BBC (still the home, I like to think, of much that is finest in British life, such as the character building induced by the canteen tea) to preserve the tension and distress of the First Nights in the voices of their reviewers In my case, there are two kinds of hysteria The first comes when the studio manager adjusts the microphone and asks me to say something 'just for level'

For some reason, this innocuous request always takes me by surprise I suppose that it's partly because I have been concentrating on what to say about the play and have been scribbling notes frantically to myself which litter the desk with illegibility, and so when a stranger starts to adjust long, black, padded objects in front of your nose and asks you to say something, my first reaction is to gulp and ask why? 'Anything', he says, 'the first thing that comes into your head' And the truth is that under those circumstances, nothing comes into my head, absolutely nothing, except the sort of things that one would never want to confide to a microphone, particularly one which is likely to be switched on to the nation at any tick of the clock, or rather in five minutes And so, rather like a fish, I open my mouth and wait for something to come, and nothing does, and the producer behind the glass window looks puzzled, and the engineer comes in, looking worried to check the equipment, and I say instinctively, 'I'm sorry' — and, lo and behold, the engineer smiles and the studio manager smiles, and the producer asks whether I'd like a glass of water and we're on the air

The second frenzy comes just before the green light goes on to signify that the first five minutes have passed and I have only another five minutes to go I do not know why the first five minutes of a broadcast are so much longer than the second five minutes, but that is the case and all contributors to First Night will testify as much In my case, I have notes and headings on cards before me, sometimes scribbled in the theatre, and experience has taught me that seven cards of notes fill ten minutes But strange to say, I invariably get through the first five cards in the first four and a half minutes, which means that in the last half minute

before the green light goes on, I reach my penultimate card — and there is something extremely insubstantial about fingering two cards of face-saving notes when there are still five and a half minutes to go

It is always at this point, theoretically speaking, that I should be reaching the crux of the review, the real pith and substance and cause why I am being paid But such is the panic of reaching down to the last two cards that I am quite likely to forget what that core insight actually is. I did so with *Lettice and Lovage* I had intended to point out that the contrast between the flamboyantly theatrical romantic, Lettice, and the dour fact-bound Lotte Schoen was not what Peter Shaffer intended it to be, since they were both on the side of and then for some reason, I couldn't remember quite what

Please don't think that it didn't matter On the contrary, it contained the seed of an idea which has been pestering me for some time, and it seemed plausible that by broadcasting this seed there was the remote chance that it might fall on fertile ground, which is all that a writer can ever hope for, and not to broadcast it at the precise moment when it *had* to be scattered was akin to the sudden impotence which afflicts lovers when at last they come to bed, and leaves the feeling of desolation and uselessness which no amount of apologies and explanations afterwards can ever assuage, for what I should have said was something to the effect that the imagination is not opposed to reason and fact, but rather the method through which one discovers reality, in which both logic and knowledge play their part.

But what I actually said was that Shaffer deals with stereotypes, and a kind of cultural kitsch, true enough, up to a point, but often said before and often pushed aside by those who don't expect anything more from their theatres than chocolates adorned with crystallised rose petals And by the time I had finished restating the obvious, the green light for eight minutes had flashed on, and off, and I was down to the customary reactions of my conclusions, placing the play, commenting on the set and the other trivia without which no review would be complete — and on to the final joke and the last green light

And the chance was lost

Of course, it would not be right to suggest that the nervousness of a First Night had totally prevented an ejaculation of any kind from taking place Somewhere, little germs of half-truths may be floating through the ether, picking out the pods on which to settle But much tougher and more fruitful seeds could have been planted, if I'd have had the psychological energy to speak at the right time and with the gift of the right words, a lapse for which I blame not First Nights, but my failure to rise adequately to the occasion That is the purpose of occasions, and the ceremonies which attend them, to concentrate the mind on action. Without First Nights, the days and years are undifferentiated, sliding by in a mist of habits without commitment, promises unfulfilled and marriages which are nothing more than a publicised living-together.

AFTER THE 1987 MALTESE GENERAL ELECTIONS

by Christopher Jones

THE 16-year-old Labour Party rule in Malta, which was characterised by controversies, especially during the last five years, following the discontent over the result of the 1981 General Elections, came to its inevitable end in May this year, when the Nationalist Party obtained 50 9% of the total electoral votes cast to give them an absolute majority, a result which was this time valid, in view of the changes which had been instituted in the Constitution a few months before the last elections

The accession to power of the Malta Labour Party in 1971, which was repeated in 1976, brought about a significant change in politics, from one of Conservative Christian Democracy under the Nationalists to one of Socialism, culminating in a period of virtual totalitarianism This latter development, instead of uniting the country, split it in two, creating an atmosphere of universal discontent and at times making a mockery of Parliament In fact the situation was such that the Nationalist Opposition could only present an unbiased view of the political situation in the country by resorting to regular mass meetings once local radio and TV were under complete Government control

In order to put into effect its ultra-socialist policies, the MLP rode roughshod over the majority of the people's feelings and desires. That meant open battles in several spheres, such as with the Church over religiously-run and privately-owned schools as well as Church property, the closure of private hospitals following the suspension of doctors from using the General Hospital, the latter move requiring the import of foreign doctors mostly from pro-eastern countries; undertaking bulk-buying to the detriment of the local commercial community and controlling imports by quotas.

Again, in the field of international politics, there existed a spirit of contradiction When on the one hand the MLP adopted neutrality and a policy of non-alignment, it leaned heavily on Iron Curtain countries, besides cultivating special relations with Russia, China, North Korea, the PLO and Arab States, anchored by special treaties to Libya.

In defence of these policies, the MLP emphasized its defence of the common worker, the even distribution of wealth to all classes and the gradual breakdown of society into one common stratum

Thus, the changed conditions in Malta meant that the 1987 General elections became a turning point in the history of the country After being out of office for 16 years the Nationalist party was naturally eager to return to power While in Opposition, it had revitalized and strengthened itself, gaining in the process a marked support from a public sickened with government interference in all walks of life On the other hand, entrenched as they were in government for 16 solid years, the MLP were reluctant to lose the reins of power, and, at the approach of the elections,

suddenly introduced a whole range of palliatives in order to gain support and votes Almost on the eve of the elections, there was belated attention to requests for telephones, accommodations and promotions, whilst some four thousand jobs were suddenly on offer, irrespective of whether the vacancies really existed

However, the Maltese electorate was not so unsophisticated and the result of the elections was a repeat of the controversial 1981 decision, the Nationalists being justly rewarded for their firm and painstaking efforts whilst in Opposition. Thanks to the rather belated changes introduced into the Constitution the Nationalist party, whilst obtaining less seats but an absolute majority of votes, were returned to Parliament on their own merits

After a smooth transfer of power, when victory celebrations were purposely restricted by the Nationalists in order to preserve peace, the Nationalist Party, its Cabinet and Parliamentary Under-Secretaries, with Prime Minister Dr. Eddie Fenech Adami were sworn in on the 11th and 12th of July respectively. Parliament was summoned, and the Acting President of the Republic outlined Government's policy for the coming five years of Nationalist rule

Meanwhile, after the change of Government and before Parliament had met, tensions had eased save for one particular instance During the hearing of a court case involving charges of corrupt practices during the elections by MLP supporters at Zejtun — the proceedings got out of hand when partisan factions stormed the Law Courts, burning and destroying documents, causing considerable damage and necessitating the closure of the Court Also, on the very first day of Parliament there was disagreement by both parties over the televising and broadcasting of the Inaugural Speech by the President of the Republic The present Government's programme covers a very wide field which in the main, aspires to manage the country's affairs in the interests of the people A perusal of the new programme indicates the present Government's concern for a need for reconciliation and a determination to set right many of the shortcomings of the previous administration during its 'absolute' form of government Thus, we see that measures are to be taken to ensure that the provisions of the Constitution will be adhered to through the introduction of changes in the Office of the President of the Republic Also envisaged will be changes to give constitutional force to basic family rights to ensure equality of the sexes, the removal of descrimination between men and women and no compromise with crime In order to ensure the independence of the Courts, which were the target of so much interference in the past, a Council of Administration of Justice, under the Presidency of the President of the Republic to include a panel of Judges and Magistrates is to be set up The aim of the Council would be to ensure that Judges and Magistrates are no longer exposed to arbitrary assignment to or removal from particular business at the discretion of a Government Minister.

One of the finest legacies of the previous British Administration has

been the existence in Malta of a Civil Service which has been, since Independence, the backbone of the country's administration. Unfortunately, during the past years, the term Civil Service has become a misnomer, having being transformed into a tool of political partisanship. It is therefore intended to reorganise completely this important department.

In the economic sphere in order to solve the problems brought about by years of massive unemployment and indiscriminate public sector flooding, one way to obtain results is through the use of investments in highly technical industries and in offshore activities which are best suited to the facilities and economic environment which can be found in Malta Government strategy will be largely private-sector orientated; participation by Government in direct productive investment or in tertiary services depending on the need for Government to participate in order to secure a particular project. As a long-term strategy, the aim of the new administration is to seek full membership in the Common Market, subject to suitable terms.

A National Economic Development Council (NEDC) is to be set up with the task of submitting a new development plan for Government's consideration This will include guidelines for a New Wage Policy In the Monetary and Banking Section, it is proposed to reintegrate surplus currency in circulation or in more active investment opportunities. In time, incentives which will be provided for Maltese capital participation should correct undue bank liquidity and serve eventually in the setting up of a Stock Exchange

Further measures will include a whole range of offshore activities; banking, transhipment, company registration, offshore insurance and shipping registration activities.

In education, steps will be taken to raise the standard at all levels The need for free education and the right to select a particular school will be recognized Church and other institutional schools will not be impeded The law threatening their existence is being repealed. The Government even undertakes to provide financial backing when required, although these schools are being expected to raise funds and help themselves financially within reasonable limits Furthermore, the University of Malta will regain its substantial autonomy, reintegrating the various faculties which had been either dispersed or suppressed under the previous Government, which could be said to have operated a virtual stranglehold over all aspects of daily life

In Health, the main feature will be the reinstatement of suspended medical officers affected by the previous Government faction against the Medical Union, which prevented them from working at the General Hospital, which it will be recalled, required the import of foreign doctors, mainly from Eastern-bloc countries A National Health Scheme is to be introduced with the opening of special Health centres, licences for religiously-run hospitals and private clinics

Other singular innovations include the appointment of a Minister for

the sister island of Gozo, the setting up of local councils, making the local broadcasting station autonomous, and the restoration of Valletta to its former status as a capital city

Finally, we come to foreign policy. Here, we find that Malta's status is entrenched in the constitution, as that of a neutral state adhering to a policy of non-alignment. At the same time, the Government is to use its best endeavours to strengthen the commercial and cultural ties with the USA. Malta has many migrants settled in America Meanwhile, relations with Mediterranean countries, especially those close to Malta, both in Europe and North Africa will be inspired not only by considerations of becoming good neighbours, but by shared responsibilities to work for peace and co-operation in the region

Malta will continue its active involvement in initiatives aimed at resolving problems in this region, especially that of the Palestinian problem The Government will continue its policy of friendship and co-operation and economic and cultural exchanges with both our North African neighbours as well as Middle East states, with continued involvement in the Non-Alignment Movement Furthermore the country will continue to project the Mediterranean dimension of European security and co-operation in the CSCE set-up.

Malta plans to continue participation in the Council of Europe, United Nations and Commonwealth organisations, and took part in the Vancouver Commonwealth Conference

From recent indications of the MLP's attitude in Parliament during the first session which terminated in mid-August, the Opposition shows no inclination to accept the Maltese Prime Minister's proferred hand of reconciliation Indeed, from the constant digressions in debates and attempts at 'filibustering', rather than co-operating, the Opposition seems bent on hampering the Nationalists all the way A case in point arose when Government decided to limit debates in order to pass four important bills before the summer recess

It would appear that following its defeat in the last elections, the MLP has passed through a crisis and it does not relish its new position on the Opposition benches, particularly as its past policies are being put under meticulous scrutiny. The role of the Opposition is to point out any defects in the various proposals discussed in Parliament. However, it has been noted that as an alternative to constructive criticism, the MLP is adopting a policy of obstruction.

In the short period that the Nationalists have been in power, it is still premature to assess political trends while the political arena is still smouldering with bitterness over the past election However, one thing seems to be certain. Under the capable direction of the new Prime Minister Dr Eddie Fenech Adami, Malta will be led back to its accustomed path of stability, justice and prosperity.

Literary Supplement

THE MAN AND POLITICIAN

Tony Benn Out of the Wilderness Diaries 1963-67 Hutchinson £14 95.

One of my daughters, a strong Labour supporter, recently attended Tony Benn's 'rebel' conference at Chesterfield I asked her to imagine that she was stretched on a couch and the analyst breathed over her the words Tony Benn What would be her first response? She replied without hesitation 'Comradely' She regards him as one of the best kind of teacher who speaks very well himself, but likes to hear the views of everyone I asked one of my sons, a one-time classical scholar, what he thought of the diaries He replied 'It is a pleasure to read first-class writing' I asked myself whether there is a better speaker in either House of Parliament at the present time I cannot think of one, though Neil Kinnock may pull out more stops at a Labour conference Man and boy Tony, has always been very nice-looking He is a member of a loving family

Why has this paragon not quite succeeded by the highest standards in politics? I will return to that in a moment But first one or two quotations from the Diaries

On February 22 1965, he and his wife went to dinner with the Crossmans. Tony Benn sums up 'It was the old prickly Dick, but Caroline always reminds me that he is just a teacher and not a politician and I shouldn't take any notice of what he said He certainly is a stimulating person to talk to'

Ben takes the unusual, but much to be applauded step, of quoting extracts from Dick Crossman's diary and that of Tam Dalyell who was also present. 'I knew Wedgie Benn was enjoying it because he is one of the few politicians who likes taking punishment' (Crossman) I am bound to say that that would never have occurred to me about Tony Benn Tam Dalyell noted 'Dick thought afterwards that Tony's self-righteousness and virtue must irritate his civil servants no end, and he said 'He would drive the Dame frantic (Dame Evelyn Sharp, Crossman's Permanent Secretary) and she would do him Of course, he's a tremendous presenter of a case, but he hasn't fully grown up yet Gaitskell had no time for him but he has tremendous energy, which makes up for his third class honours degree' That took some printing Tony is perhaps consoled by the reflection that two much admired prime ministers, Stanley Baldwin and Alec Home, also got 'thirds'

It is certainly not any lack of mental capacity which has prevented Tony Benn from being where Mrs Thatcher, or even Neil Kinnock, is today To put his problem in a word he has always been regarded among the Labour politicians I have known best as a bit of a fanatic His admirers who are still numerous would say that he alone of his generation or the preceding one has remained a true socialist Which leaves open the question what true Socialism consists of He seems in his own eyes to be an even truer socialist today than he was when he wrote these Diaries, which cover the years 1963-67 He says in his Foreword 'I did not at that time have a real socialist understanding of the structure of our society' Presumably he considers that he has one now, although he is, to do him justice, a determined self-improver With the best will in the world, and after all I have served in a Cabinet with him, I have little idea of what his socialism amounts to today But I do not question for a

moment the intensity of his vision or his power to communicate the dream to large numbers of people — especially the young

One weakness of his becomes apparent on the first page After referring to Hugh Gaitskell's kindness on occasion, he goes on 'He had a real civil servant's mind, very little imagination and hardly any understanding of how people worked His pernickety mind always managed to engineer a confrontation of principles which he would then seek to resolve by brute force '

The world divides itself too readily for Tony Benn into 'goodies' and 'baddies', 'goodies' being those who seem to be working on the right side We are all of us, especially, politicians, a mixture of egotism and altruism The egotism of Tony Benn was blatant though beneficial in his long successful struggle to renounce his peerage The altruism has made him loved by many humble people and respected by anyone who knows him at all well

FRANK LONGFORD

UNSTUFFY CONSTITUTIONAL LAW AND POLITICAL REALITY

Politics, Institutions and Issues in Britain Javier Cable Macmillan. £5 95.

Not another book on the British Constitution, or lack of it, was my first reaction until shaken by the definition of politics as 'the struggle for power over people' A cynic or realist I wondered, as the writer, more known for his books on diplomacy, went on to assert that 'every society has a governing class' Here is a vital area of forgotten recognition of the constant change in the system and therefore in the constitution

There was much in this book of which I was aware but, written with a healthy gust of commonsense fresh air, it is quite unlike the sterile accounts that fail to interest students and has an insight that is never pretentious

The Governing Clan may be based on membership of the Communist Party, money, race or even tribe After that initiation I read with pleasure an historical anecdotal no-nonsense approach to the checks and balances of Cabinet Government, the Executive and Parliament with a shrewd recognition of the power of the Executive and the patronage of power

How our conventions arose is frequently enlightening to those of us who should know and there is interesting speculation on how the Monarchy would act in the event of a 'hung parliament', although that phrase is not used Footnotes are out but a further reading list, together with a flowing style and reasonable approach makes this a book I would recommend to any foreign observer or student of the Constitution They may be unaware of some of the sources quoted

Politics, Institutions and Issues in Britain provides insights and examples which text books sadly lack It is a breezy book and eminently readable to one who used to lecture to groups of foreign visitors in the House of Commons about our unique non-Constitution Our 'neutral' Civil Service, defiance of the separation of power, undue silly secrecy and an evolution that has permitted Monarchy to be popular, the House of Lords to exist in 1987 and no revolution for well over three hundred years reflect changes that have absorbed talent and brought Socialist Prime Ministers into the Governing Clan Perceptive and pleasing for the most jaded constitutional lawyer or politician, I leave this view to the reader's judgement, confident that only the stuffy will disagree

PAUL ROSE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIVERSE

What? On Earth W Graham-Smith Conservative Foundation. Holmes McDougall Ltd

This book is a work of review and synthesis It questions the whole basis of our civilisation and although in no way under-rating the difficulties which we currently face in managing the planet of the late 1980's, provides some hope for the future

The essence of the book is that a situation can be created in which everyone should be able to appreciate and fully comprehend the nature and order of the world together with its present problems By doing so each can accept the challenge of playing a role in shaping a new order which is more equitable and less precarious than that currently existing

Early chapters of the book are concerned with the method by which man has gained some limited and indirect understanding of the planet Limitations imposed by our environment are discussed, and some of the great syntheses in history and science from the earliest years until the present time are briefly described The section on the development of the world is extremely broad in scope It starts with a description of living cells and the beginning of photo-synthesis, discusses the beginnings of life in sea and on land, encompasses human evolution, the hunter gatherer stage, early agriculture and civilisation and concludes with the advent of the industrial revolution

The author also includes some of the major aspects of the present world scene He stresses the relative ascendancy of the West over the rest of the world, the enormous quantity of goods which the developed countries produce as a result of the use of fossil fuels and technologies involving mass production, the vastly increased power of technology dictated mainly by scientific discovery and finally the huge rise in human population which exacerbates all other contending pressures

Graham-Smith has assumed a gigantic task which is nothing less than a description of the development of the Universe However the text is relatively short and simple and is free from unnecessary and wearisome technical detail. For those desirous of learning how our planet arrived in its present state it is essential reading and it constitutes a notable contribution to the series published by the Conservation Foundation

JOHN A LORAINE

THE KING FEELS STRONGLY

George VI — A New Biography Patrick Howarth £12 95

The year was 1945 and George VI's secretary was writing about the King's desire to meet the new American President, Truman For his part Truman had little desire to meet the King, partly because the State Department in Washington was fearful of too close an involvement in the affairs of the Empire George VI won the battle and entertained the President to lunch aboard *HMS Renown* With the usual condescension politicians reserve for monarchs, the former Missouri lawyer wrote that he was impressed by the extent of the King's knowledge of international affairs One wonders what he expected Whether the King was equally impressed we do not know

This brings us to one of the perennial problems of anyone writing a royal biography access to material in the Royal Archives After the 'authorised' biography of the King by Sir John Wheeler-Bennett, the Royal Archives are

closed to other writers In his case, of course, the Archives, as a family and not a public library, have a responsibility to the Queen Mother to protect her from unnecessary pain in dredging up yet again the sordid story of Edward VIII's abdication and subsequent behaviour Understandably Mr Howarth does not refer to the Royal Archives, perhaps fearing that this might lessen his book's appeal He need not have feared

His biography is a most worthwhile book and a credit to his subject· if the subject is royal, the treatment is not George VI is treated not with the saccharine respect normally found in 'royal' books, but with the genuine regard due a man in an historic position The author has used important Foreign Office papers and American archives to amass an impressive range of manuscripts Chamberlain, Churchill, Truman, Eisenhower, Mackenzie King, Lord Mountbatten and the host of long, detailed letters written to the King by Lord Halifax when his Ambassador in Washington In addition he has talked to a variety of people who could fill in various gaps

By using these sources he allows George VI to emerge as an historical figure in his own right and incidentally shows how constitutional monarchy works The King cannot help but be overshadowed in the popular imagination by the more dynamic Churchill but his importance in the history of constitutional government is crucial Mr Howarth rightly emphasises the importance of the King's deep Christian faith More attention could have been given to his revival of royal ceremonial in the drab days of post war England for George VI saw the need for colour and pageantry This is an important book for the historian as well as for the general reader

JAMES MUNSON

A NEW LIFE OF OSCAR WILDE

Oscar Wilde Richard Ellman Hamish Hamilton £15.

Oscar Wilde is a favourite subject for biographers His life has all the elements of a good story wit, fame, tragedy, pathos and posthumous glory. He even presents the added attraction of a short life The biographer has to account for forty-six years Professor Richard Ellman was well known for his books about Irish writers He had been working on this biography of Oscar Wilde for many years and managed to complete it shortly before his own death This accounts for the fact that occasional parts of the book appear to be less polished than others Nevertheless it should remain the standard life of Oscar Wilde for many years to come

Previous writers have approached Wilde from a variety of perspectives Hesketh Pearson drew on his own background as an actor to enrich his colourful biography with stories, not always accurate ones, of Wilde the dramatist and conversationalist Montgomery Hyde used his knowledge of the bar to illuminate his account of Wilde's trials.

Professor Ellman is a literary critic and he views Oscar Wilde from that perspective Fortunately this book is free from the convoluted nonsense that normally passes for literary criticism Indeed at times, the author seems to have inherited some of his subject's gift for the telling phrase To select one example, he nicely describes the American writer, T W Higginson (now only remembered for telling Emily Dickinson not to publish her poems) as 'a highly respected bore' This book is a biography but one that occasionally pauses to analyse some of Wilde's writings

Professor Ellman is particularly interested in Wilde's critical essays. Some years ago he edited a useful collection of those writings It has long been the case that French and particularly German writers have seen Oscar Wilde as an important thinker Professor Ellman comes close to this view though he does stress that the essence of Wilde's thought is his delight in expressing two contrary views almost in tandem The problem with viewing Wilde as a philosophical writer is that one must not only allow for his superb ability to play with the language but also for the change in the meaning of certain words since his time Thus Wilde's 'Soul of Man Under Socialism' can only be understood if one gives considerable attention to what late Victorians meant by 'socialism'

This biography gives greater attention to Wilde's life outside Britain Professor Ellman has a detailed and enjoyable survey of the young poet's lecture tour of America He also gives a long account — some may find it too long — of his relations with various French writers He approaches the trials from a different viewpoint and is critical of many of the legal celebrities involved He implies, though one would like more proof, that the 'establishment' wanted to protect the Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery There were rumours concerning his friendship with Lord Alfred Douglas's elder brother who had recently committed suicide

It is Professor Ellman's contention, and one that gives a central unity to the book, that Wilde suffered from syphilis acquired during his undergraduate days at Oxford It is impossible to prove this but a good case is made for it

This is a biography written for today's reader and Professor Ellman is able to be much franker about Oscar Wilde's sexual life than earlier biographers However he does this with commendable restraint He occasionally has a tendency to nudge Wilde's political or social views into line with current orthodoxy Thus he strongly implies that Wilde in his American tour entertained opinions about 'the terrors of prejudice against blacks' This is hardly in accord with the many contemporary interviews collected in a superb two volume anthology about Wilde edited by E H Mikhail in 1979

This new biography of Wilde will be particularly enjoyed by anyone who has once read an earlier or lighter book about him It will also be relished by any who have enjoyed even one of those sparkling comedies that stand as a memorial to one of the most delightful and most tragic figures who have illuminated our language

RICHARD MULLEN

T. S. ELIOT'S LITERARY CRITICISM

T S Eliot as Literary Critic Harold F Brooks Cecil Woolf £12 50

Harold Brooks has performed an inestimable service to our understanding of the poetry and drama of the twentieth century by producing an admirably scholarly work on the literary criticism written by T S Eliot Eliot is arguably the most influential poet who wrote most of his work between the two world wars, including not only poems but several verse dramas The singular popularity of his longer poems such as *The Love Song of J Alfred Prufrock, The Waste Land* and *Sweeney Agonistes* could perhaps be explained partly by their readily assimilated music as much as by their fertile contemporary imagery Snatches of popular songs are interspersed with visual and tactile images In plays such as *Murder in the Cathedral* and *The Family Reunion* the dialogue is fluid, approximating to speech rhythms, and the choric interludes are melodic and therefore memorable.

Alongside the underlying demotic speech and references to jazz patterns there is, however, a widely-ranging and deliberately recalled system of echoes of the great literature, painting and music of the centuries that have gone to make up our existing cultural consciousness Also alongside the poems and plays, Eliot wrote deeply serious aesthetic and literary criticism, relating to his own work in progress and based on his reading of Shakespeare, the Augustans, Dante and the metaphysical poets Hence, he reinstated in popular esteem Dryden and Pope, Donne and Marvel whom the Tennysonian nineteenth century had ousted in favour of the Romantic poets But Eliot's main concern was to determine the state of the art of poetry in general

Harold Brooks's particular achievement is to have succeeded in describing, by means of a clear, workmanlike structure, the chief thrust of Eliot's critical works, the main focus of his judgements and their bearing on the poet's own published work at several stages in his life Above all, in his analysis Professor Brooks justifies the fact that many of Eliot's value judgements have passed into literary currency He shows, too, the ways in which these judgements were reached Eliot's conclusions are not finite or closed into their particular references They bear the hallmark of innovative criticism for the canons he elicits may enlarge and enrich the analytical process in many contexts Eliot's revision of his own former conclusions show how misconceptions could arise about, for instance, his interpretation of *Hamlet* or about his fear of the influence of Milton on poetry

The book is divided into four chapters Eliot's criticism in relation to his poetry and drama, the first, contains a perceptive summary of the critical achievement and is an essential guide to the other three parts The second, on Eliot as guide to literature, gives a satisfying and comprehensive indication of the place of Eliot in modern critical literature The other two chapters deal with his judicial criticism and his appreciative criticism, thus providing a much-needed clarification of the material in hand The index is usefully arranged and the notes appended to each chapter can only be described as a 'tour de force', for they contain a 'concordance' of cogent references that is, as far as I know, unique Two of Eliot's most quoted essays — one on Milton and one on Eliot's revised view of impersonality in art — are treated in separate notes No student or reader of modern critical literature can afford to be without Professor Brooks's volume, small in compass though it is

BETTY ABEL

SHORTER REVIEWS

Gorbachev's Challenge (Norton £12 95 $20 50) Marshall I Goldman's latest book comes at an appropriate moment when Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of economic reform is meeting with strong resistance among the conservatives in the USSR Mr Goldman argues that unless the Russians can meet the constantly changing and innovating demands of high technology, Gorbachev will 'probably have to settle for an economy that has to rely more on its natural riches than on its creative potential' Mr Goldman discusses the course of the Soviet economy since Lenin's New Economic Policy, Stalin's collectivisation and general increase in productivity through centralisation and a vast bureaucratic machine, and Krushchev's failure at reform He also deals with the opening of China to economic forces and

developments in East Germany and Hungary, to which Gorbachev looks A major degree of decentralisation, the introduction of market forces with a degree of private enterprise and the profit motive, worker incentives with good quality consumer goods available, are among essential reforms Against this is the opposition of the bureaucracy with its vested interest in the status quo and the privileges that attend it Also there is the fear of increased prices and unemployment among the masses Mr Goldman points out that the far reaching changes necessary for full reform 'might well cause the dismantling of the present communist system, as well as the secession of many of the Soviet republics' He concludes that Gorbachev will probably have to settle for minor changes

Englishmen Abroad (Edwin Mellen Press) This 'account of their travels in the Seventeenth Century' is the third volume in the American series of Studies in British History In this new contribution the authors, Robert Munter and Clyde L Groseare are concerned with different categories of travellers, including the explorer, the merchant traveller, royalty, the Grand Tour, the Diplomat, the scientist abroad, soldiers of fortune, and the colonist They have used a great deal of contemporary material, including writings by a number of the travellers themselves The lists of travellers do not purport to be complete Nonetheless, it does seem strange that no mention is made of the founding of Bermuda in 1609 by Sir John Somers when shipwrecked on the islands, while on a voyage to Virginia The volume suffers from lack of an index and bibliography

The Countryside at War 1914-18 (Constable £12 95) In 1985 Dr James Munson edited the diary, 1914-1919, of the Rev Andrew Clark, vicar of Great Leighs in rural Essex It is a book of much interest, reviewed in these columns Now in *The Countryside at War 1914-1918*, Dr Caroline Dakers has provided a wider coverage of rural England, transformed by the war-time demands and changes imposed upon the agricultural communities There is too the poignant account of the loss of manpower and sacrifice suffered in the rural societies Perhaps the next study should be the impact of the 1939-1945 war upon the countryside

Carson (Constable £9 95) H Montgomery Hyde's life of Sir Edward Carson, Lord Carson of Funcairn, (1854-1935), was first published in 1953, and is now republished as a paperback, and unamended since the 1974 edition As such it still remains a valuable biography of the great fighter for Ulster as part of the United Kingdom Indeed if alive now, he would be in the forefront of the unionist cause This makes the reissue now especially appropriate Furthermore, as this study appreciates, he was a superb advocate at both the Irish and English Bars Lord Atkin, the distinguished law lord regarded him as the most distinguished of his generation, in an age of great advocates

The Thomas Paine Reader (Penguin Books £5 95 USA $7 95) This new collection of the writings of Thomas Paine (1737-1809) is edited by Michael Foot and Professor Isaac Kramnick of Cornell University It covers twenty-one pieces of his major contributions, including The Rights of Man, Common Sense, the Age of Reason (Part 1), and his plea for the abolition of slavery, as early as 1775, ignored in the American Constitution twelve years later The Editors have contributed a very useful Introduction on 'the life, ideology and legacy' of this great radical thinker, whose reputation is being restored after years of eclipse

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